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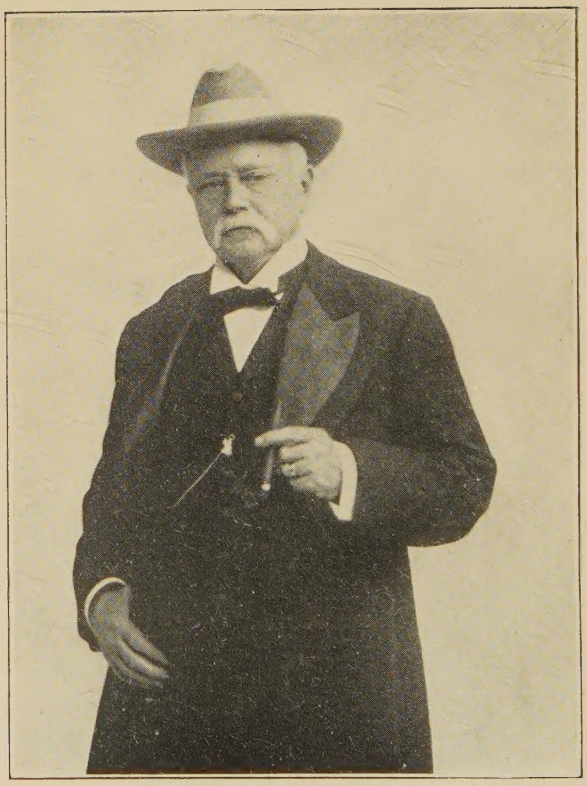

JUDGE JOHN F. PHILLIPS.

Colonel Seventh Missouri Federal Cavalry, commanding Brown's Brigade of Pleasanton's Army in the Battle of Westport.

Gen. A. Barrows.
from C.C.B. 2/10/07

THE BATTLE OF WESTPORT

158

BY

PAUL B. JENKINS.

26714

COMPILED FROM THE OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE UNION AND CONFEDERATE ARMIES, FROM BIOGRAPHIES, STATEMENTS OF PARTICIPANTS, FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE OFFICERS, EYE-WITNESSES, PRIVATE SOURCES, NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS OF THE TIME, ETC., ETC. ACCOMPANIED BY HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED MAPS OF THE BATTLE-FIELDS REPRODUCED FROM GOVERNMENT ORIGINALS, SHOWING MOVEMENTS OF THE TROOPS ENGAGED, ETC. ILLUSTRATED WITH PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE IMPORTANT SITES MENTIONED, OF RELICS OF THE BATTLE, ETC., ESPECIALLY TAKEN FOR THIS WORK. TO WHICH IS ADDED AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE FIRST COMPLETE STATEMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE THREE ARMIES ENGAGED, AND AN INDEX OF INDIVIDUALS AND TROOPS MENTIONED.

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1906.

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PREFACE.

THE student of military and political history will readily note a marked resemblance between the engagements fought on July 1st to 3d, 1863, before Gettysburg, in the State of Pennsylvania, and that of October 21st to 23d, 1864, near Kansas City, in the State of Missouri. Barring only the numbers engaged and the corresponding losses, the battles of Gettysburg and of Westport had much in common. Each was the result of a campaign of invasion planned by the Confederate War Department for the purpose of severing the Union territory at the point of attack, the one in the East, the other in the West. Each such campaign was intended seriously to embarrass the Federal defence by necessitating the summoning of distant forces to resist the invasion, thus setting other Confederate forces freer to conduct their own lines of action. Each seriously threatened the principal cities in the invaded territory, and in each case that territory was chosen for the reason that it contained such places of importance—Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia in the eastern campaign; St. Louis, Kansas City and the important military post of Fort Leavenworth in the western. The engagement in which each campaign culminated occupied three days of incessant fighting, and the defeat to the Confederate arms with which each closed put an end forever to further attempts at carrying the war northward in their respective portions of the Union. Each such defeat established one of the two high-tide marks of

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the Confederacy, the one in the East, the other in the West. And, finally, each period of three days' conflict composed, in numbers and importance of results attained, the largest and most decisive land battle of the Civil War in its respective portion of the two great natural divisions of the United States, the territories lying respectively east and west of the Mississippi River.

In spite, however, of the importance that may be thus justly claimed for the series of actions known as the Battle of Westport, those actions and their results have received but scant attention from the historians of the "Great Conflict." The reasons for that neglect are not difficult to ascertain. There were but few writers, scholars, students and West Point graduates on the more western field or in the ranks of Price's, Curtis' and Pleasanton's armies. Their numbers were from the Ozark mountains of Arkansas, the farms of Missouri and the prairies of Kansas. Theirs was no mere political strife; it was the combat of men who fought for the very soil over which they charged, and backed with their muskets the opinions taught them at their mothers' breasts. If the strategy of Yorktown and Waterloo was absent from their maneuvres in the field, at least they knew well how to forge rude sabers at the blacksmith's anvil, or to handle rifles that had already rendered good service at Chapultepec or checked the yelling rush of Arapahoe and Pawnee. Then, their battle over, they mustered themselves out of service, plowed the earthworks under, and set about building cities as the sole monument of charge and counter-charge, until to-day school-houses dot the battle-field and church-spires line the historic "Trail."

As to the sources from which the accompanying narrative has been drawn it must suffice to say that the list is far too long for enumeration. It includes every published volume that has dealt in any way with the history of the Union, the West, the States of Missouri and Kansas and their cities, during the year 1864, or with the particular campaign itself. It includes the 103 reports of officers of every rank which were submitted to the War Departments of the United States and of the Confederacy respectively at the close of Price's campaign. It includes the personal narratives of five leading officers and half an hundred or more other veterans, participants in the campaign and its engagements, who have kindly given the benefit of their recollections.

The writer—if such title the present compiler may claim—is the sole male member of his family since 1776 who has not at some time worn the uniform of the United States Army. That honor denied him, it has for years been his hope to add in some slight way to that literature which contains the noble record of those Americans, who, on countless fields, have fought for the right as God has given them to see the right. Ten years ago, on becoming a resident in the vicinity of this all too little-known field of one of the decisive conflicts of the Civil War, he began the study of the events that culminated in that action. Finding that not one adequate account of those events had been written since 1865, he undertook the collection of notes, studies and interviews which he hoped might one day tell the story of the Battle of Westport—the Western Gettysburg. That story is contained in the pages which follow.

—*P. B. J.*

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CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE OF STERLING PRICE.

THE third and last great "raid" made by General Sterling Price, C. S. A., into the State of Missouri was, in spite of this its common name, no such irregular and unofficial an expedition as, for instance the attack of Quantrill and his band on the town of Lawrence, Kansas. It ought properly to be called an invasion rather than a raid, inasmuch as it was a military movement on the part of a force numbering 10,000 men, definitely planned and ordered by the Confederate War Department for strategic reasons, executed by an army organized for the purpose and formally entrusted to the command of a former Brigadier-General of the United States Army, a veteran of the Mexican War, Governor of the State of Missouri from 1852 to 1856, and a prominent officer of the Confederate forces in the immediately preceding actions of the War.

Sterling Price was by birth a Virginian, born in Prince Edward County, in 1809, of intelligent and fairly well-to-do parents. His youth had been spent in the local schools, in a course at Hampden-Sidney College in his native county, and in the study of law. In 1831 his father moved with his family to a farm in Chariton County, Missouri, which place became Sterling Price's home up to his death in the epidemic of cholera in St. Louis in 1867. Young Price had no small ability, for he

had lived in Missouri but nine years when, in 1840, he was elected a member of the State Legislature and was immediately made Speaker of the House, an unusual honor for a man so young and so comparatively unknown throughout the State. For several years thereafter he was the principal public figure in both civil and military affairs in the State. In 1846 he was elected to Congress and took his seat, but remained in Washington only a short time. Two reasons have been assigned for his resignation. One is that there was certain vigorous and bitter criticism of him in his home State; the other that he wished to take part in the then impending war with Mexico. It is not definitely known to-day what was the cause of the criticism and opposition to him at home, though the existence of such feeling is mentioned by all his biographers. It is but fair to believe that a desire to enter the military service of his country was as large a factor in his decision to resign from Congress as any other motive, for he had no sooner reached Missouri on his return than he began to raise a force of volunteers to take part in the first move that the United States might make, and in this design he and his men were successful.

The immediate matter in dispute between the United States and Mexico was the claim of the former that the cession of the Territory of Texas included the country between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande, a claim which Mexico denied, refusing accordingly to yield the territory thus bounded. In March, 1846, President Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to occupy the disputed soil, and this he did with a force of 2,300 men. In May, General Ampudia attacked Taylor with 6,000 Mexicans

and was severely defeated at Palo Alto. On May 13th, the United States declared war against Mexico and called for 50,000 volunteers, General Stephen W. Kearney being instructed to assemble the first forces at Fort Leavenworth, to form them into the "Army of the West," and to proceed at once to Santa Fé. Two practically complete regiments were almost immediately at General Kearney's disposal, known as the First and Second Missouri Mounted Volunteers, the first having been raised by Colonel A. W. Doniphan, of Clay County, Missouri, the second by Sterling Price, who was at once commissioned Colonel of his force. With the addition of a few less complete forces—three squadrons of the First United States Dragoons under Major Sumner and two batteries of artillery under Major M. L. Clark, one of them the famous "Battery A" of St. Louis—these composed General Kearney's expedition, and they started at once on the long march of 900 miles from Fort Leavenworth to the town of Santa Fé. The force was divided for the journey into two divisions, the first containing all except Price's regiment, the second that body alone. Their line of march was that which later became famous as the "Santa Fé Trail."

Francis Parkman, the historian, at this time engaged on his tour of the Western plains, has left us (The Oregon Trail, chap. xxvi) a most picturesque description of Kearney's army and its odd and irregular advance on this campaign. He met them on the Upper Arkansas, and after commenting on meeting a company or two a day, straggling along and hunting or resting on their way, he says:

"No men ever embarked upon a military expedition with a greater love for the work before them than the Missourians; but if discipline and subordination are the criterion of merit, they were worthless soldiers indeed. Yet when their exploits have rung through all America, it would be absurd to deny that they were excellent irregular troops. Their victories were gained in the teeth of every established precedent of warfare, and were owing to a combination of military qualities in the men themselves. Doniphan's regiment marched through New Mexico more like a band of free companions than like the paid soldiers of a modern government. When General Taylor complimented him on his success at Sacramento and elsewhere, the Colonel's reply very well illustrates the relations which subsisted between the officers and men of his command.

" 'I don't know anything of the maneuvres. The boys kept coming to me to let them charge; and when I saw a good opportunity, I told them they might go. They were off like a shot, and that 's all I know about it.'

"Price's soldiers, whom we now met, were men from the same neighborhood, precisely similar in character, manners, and appearance. There were some ruffian faces among them, and some haggard with debauchery; but on the whole they were extremely good-looking men, superior beyond measure to the ordinary rank and file of an army. Except that they were booted to the knees, they wore their belts and military trappings over the ordinary dress of citizens. Besides their swords and holster pistols, they carried slung from their saddles the excellent Springfield carbines, loaded at the breech." (In this last sentence

Parkman seems to have fallen into the error of using a popular misnomer for the arm mentioned. There was in 1846 no "Springfield" breech-loading carbine in use in the army of the United States. It is true that Jenk's breech-loading carbine, manufactured for the Government by the Ames Arms Company of Springfield, Massachusetts, was in use, but only in the navy. It is practically certain that the carbine alluded to was the famous Hall's breech-loading carbine with the tip-up breech-block, issued in both flint and percussion-lock, well known historically as the first breech-loading arm officially adopted by any government. It, however, was manufactured at the Harper's Ferry Arsenal. At this date its inventor, Colonel John H. Hall, was living in Missouri, whence these troops came and where he and his invention were alike widely popular, and many arms with his invention are known to have been used in the Mexican War.)

On arriving at Santa Fé with the first column, Kearney took possession of the country in the name of the United States, appointed a former Missourian, William Bent, of St. Louis, as Governor, placed Doniphan in command of the military, and, before Price's column had arrived, set off with 200 dragoons for California, with the intention of seizing that territory also for the Union. During the ensuing winter there occurred an incident which made for Price at least one bitter enemy, one whose enmity endured, as we shall see, implacable throughout their lifetimes, and, strangely enough, deeply affected in later years the history of the West and the checkered fortunes of the Confederacy. Throughout the entire military

career of Sterling Price—that is to say, throughout his lifetime—it was always true of him that he was among the most lax of supposed disciplinarians. Parkman's quoted description of the troops under him on his first campaign affirms it, while during his Confederate career his warmest admirers were forced to admit, though they strove to excuse it, and his enemies made capital of the fact until he was in his grave.

Hard upon Kearney's departure for California, Doniphan, after a few minor engagements with the Navajo Indians, was ordered to Chihuahua, thus leaving Colonel Price in command at Santa Fé. Of Price's failure to keep either the surrounding country or his own soldiers sufficiently under control the treacherous Mexicans and Pueblo Indians took advantage, plotting the recapture of the place from the possession of the United States. They succeeded in raising a revolt and in butchering Governor Bent (January 19th, 1847) and several other Americans, but were then compelled to flee before Price's vengeance. With 500 of his Missourians Price pursued the insurgents through the small towns of Canada, Moro, and the celebrated Pueblo de Taos. Among the most treasured possessions of the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis there may be seen the small silk American flag carried by the before-mentioned Battery A, and which bears the names of these towns as those where the battery participated in the fighting. At the last-named place the Mexicans attempted to make a stand against their pursuers by barricading a church and two ancient Indian "pueblos" and holding them as a fort, but Price and his men cut through the adobe walls with axes and intrepidly en-

tered and seized the improvised stronghold. In ten days the revolt was crushed, Price having lost 47 men killed as against the Mexicans' 285. Yet it was undeniable that only the most regrettably lax vigilance on Price's part had made the uprising possible.

Among the officers of the United States forces in this campaign there was a Colonel Jefferson Davis, a Mississippian, who had also been a member of Congress, and, like Price, had resigned to take part in the war. He had raised the First Mississippi Volunteers, with whom he had accompanied General Zachary Taylor's expedition, and was wounded at the battle of Buena Vista. From the date of the Mexican revolt at Santa Fé, Davis professed the utmost contempt for the unmilitary negligence that alone had made it possible, a feeling which was often publicly shown in the form of a marked personal animosity toward Price, with whom he had in later years more than one unconcealed exchange of bitter personalities.

The United States Government, however, did not look as seriously on the affair at Santa Fé as Davis did, for in the same year Price was commissioned a Brigadier-General. Davis was also offered a similar commission by President Polk, but refused it on the ground that "a military appointment by a Federal executive was unconstitutional." Immediately after this promotion Price was ordered into Mexican territory to take the post of Military Governor of Chihuahua. Here the Mexicans endeavored again to catch him off his guard, but Price had learned something about Mexicans, and when they brought him false reports that peace had been made, instead of believing their news he promptly attacked the town of

Santa Cruz de Rosales, in which engagement he lost 45 men as against the defenders' loss of 300 in killed, wounded and captured. This was the last action of any note in which he took part during the Mexican War. At its close he returned to his farm in Chariton County, Missouri, and for the next ten or twelve years was probably the most popular and most widely known single citizen of the State, being elected Governor in 1852. His term of office was uneventful and at its close he returned once more to the farm.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST SERVICES OF PRICE TO THE CONFEDERACY.

THE Southern friends of Sterling Price have always claimed that he was originally "a Union man," and such he seems indeed to have been according to his own interpretation of the term. He believed in the existence and maintenance of a union among the various States, but he believed also that that Union had no rights that were superior to any possessed by the individual States. To him each State and each State Government was supreme within its own boundaries, and this belief guided his future conduct, as will presently appear. When the movement toward secession was spreading from one to another of the Southern States, a convention was called in the State of Missouri (February 28th, 1861) to determine whether it also should secede. Of this now famous Convention Sterling Price was elected President, and the historic decision was reached that it should not secede.

Presently, however, Camp Jackson, near St. Louis—where the militia that sympathized with the Confederacy was being assembled by order of Governor Claiborne Jackson—was forcibly seized by Captain Nathaniel Lyon, of the Second United States Infantry, and 1,000 men, an act which to Sterling Price was a direct violation of the cherished doctrine of "States' Rights." At once he offered his services and his sword, not to the Confederate

Government, but to the Governor himself, and at that official's direction began to raise an army to be known as the "Missouri State Guards." Over this force he refused at first to lift the "stars and bars" of the Confederacy, but flew instead the State flag of Missouri. In company with other regular and irregular Confederate forces he and his men took part in the battles of Wilson's Creek, near Springfield, Missouri (August 10th, 1861); the famous "hemp-bale" siege and assault of the Masonic College at Lexington, Missouri (September 11th–20th, 1861), where the victory over the Federal garrison under Colonel J. A. Mulligan was claimed for Price and raised him high in the Southern esteem; Pea Ridge, Arkansas (March 7th–8th, 1862); and other minor skirmishes. At Pea Ridge he was slightly wounded in the right forearm by a musket-ball on the second day of the battle, but with his arm in a sling continued to direct his troops. In this battle the victorious Federal troops were under the command of Brigadier-General S. R. Curtis, whom Price was destined one day to meet again.

After the battle of Pea Ridge, Price abandoned the idea of supporting Missouri alone, hoisted the Confederate flag, offered his services to President Jefferson Davis, and, his corps being officially designated as the "Army of the West," was sent to coöperate with Major-General Earl Van Dorn's "Army of West Tennessee," east of the Mississippi. This was in April of 1862, by the 9th of which month the forces of Van Dorn and Price joined those of Bragg, Polk, Hardee, and Breckinridge at Corinth, Mississippi, under General G. T. Beauregard, a total of some 80,000 men. No sooner were these troops

assembled than Major-General Halleck began to move against them with his army of 110,000 men, and by strategic advances, elaborate intrenchments at every halt, the use of heavy siege-guns, etc., forced the Confederates to evacuate Corinth (May 29th) without a battle, and to retreat to Tupelo, fifty-two miles south, to which point Halleck and his army did not pursue.

At this time ensued the climax of Jefferson Davis' manifestations of his hostility to General Price. In the month of June, Van Dorn, Beauregard, Bragg and others united in urging Davis to place Price in command of the entire Confederate forces west of the Mississippi. While there was in the Confederacy a decided difference of sentiment toward Price, some (George C. Vest, Major E. C. Cabell, Thomas C. Reynolds, and Jefferson Davis himself) intimating frankly that they suspected Price of a plot to remove Davis from the Presidency by a popular movement and proclaim himself President or Generalissimo, yet the feeling of these particular fellow-officers toward him, and the high esteem in which he was held by a large element among the Southern people of the West, may be inferred from the letter which Van Dorn wrote Davis concerning the matter, saying: "The love of the people of Missouri is so strong for General Price, and his prestige as a commander is so strong there, that wisdom would seem to dictate that he be put at the head of affairs in the West." Price himself, with several of his staff, went to Richmond to present this request in person, being received along the route by the people of the South with the utmost admiration, cordiality and honor. Receptions, fetes and entertainments were accorded him, even

in Richmond itself, and even his enemies were compelled to admit that at this time he was the Confederate military hero of the hour.

But Davis' enmity to Price remained unaltered. Colonel Thomas L. Snead of Missouri, ever the warmest of Price's admirers and the staunchest of his defenders, was present at the interview between Price and Davis and from his account we quote the following:

"The President said that he had determined not to let the General and the Missourians return to the trans-Mississippi. 'Well, Mr. President,' said General Price, with the utmost respect and courtesy, 'if you will not let me serve you, I will nevertheless serve my country. I will send you my resignation, and go back to Missouri and raise another army there without your assistance, and fight again under the flag of Missouri, and win new victories for the South in spite of the Government.'

"No one who ever encountered Jefferson Davis in authority can ever forget the measured articulation with which he gave force to his words addressed to one who presumed to oppose his wishes or to refuse obedience to his will. His eye flashed with anger and his tone was contemptuous as he replied with measured slowness: 'Your resignation will be promptly accepted, General. And if you do go back to Missouri and raise another army, and win victories for the South, or do it any service at all, no one will be more pleased than myself, or'—after a pause which was intended to emphasize, and did emphasize, the words which followed—'or more surprised!'

" 'Then I will surprise you, sir!' exclaimed General Price, bringing his clenched fist down upon the table with

a violence which set the ink-stands on it a-dancing; and out he went, indignant and furious, to return to his hotel and forward his resignation."

Nor was this quoted account quite all the scene, for while Price was writing his resignation, Colonel Snead told the story publicly, in front of the Spottswood Hotel tore from his uniform the insignia of his Confederate rank, and repeated Price's avowal that he would go West and fight again under the Missouri flag.

Contrary to his statement, however, Davis did not accept Price's resignation, but sent word the next day that Price and the Missourians should go back across the Mississippi "as soon as it could safely be done," until which time they were still left at Tupelo.

But Price had no love for a campaign of inaction, and on September 18th he drove a small Federal garrison out of Iuka, 10 or 15 miles east of Corinth, taking possession of the town and a large amount of supplies. At Grant's orders Rosecrans immediately moved against Price with 9,000 men, General E. O. C. Ord and 8,000 coöperating with him, and on the 19th inst. severely defeated him before Iuka, forcing him back southward again.

Undiscouraged, Price, throughout his entire career a most aggressive commander, next proposed to Van Dorn that they unite and attempt to drive the Federal forces out of northern Mississippi and western Tennessee, hoping to carry the movement clear to the Ohio. Price's army leading, they boldly advanced against Rosecrans' now strongly-fortified position at Corinth, which place they attempted to take by direct assault, on October 3d and 4th, in the fierce battle to which the name of the town

has been given. The action consisted of a series of most desperate assaults against the Federal batteries mounted *en barbette* around the town, Rosecrans himself saying, "It was about as good fighting on the part of the Confederates as I ever saw," but the Confederates were repulsed with the disastrous loss to Price of 2,100 men, or over 10 per cent of his entire command. In this battle Brigadier-General W. L. Cabell commanded a brigade in Maury's division and Colonel W. F. Slemons commanded the Second Arkansas Cavalry, both of which officers were later with Price in Missouri. Another of Price's officers was Colonel Francis M. Cockrell, who commanded the Second Missouri Infantry.

After this culminating reverse, General Price and many of his Missouri troops returned west of the Mississippi. For the next year and a half, or up to the preparation for his last and greatest campaign, his activities consisted chiefly in participation in the battles of Helena, Arkansas (July 4th, 1863) and Camden, Arkansas (April 20th, 1864), against Steele's expedition.

In personal appearance Sterling Price was tall and very large, six feet two inches in height and of massive proportions save for his hands and feet, which were small for one of his size. During the years of his life with which this narrative deals he grew increasingly heavier and corpulent, until constant horseback-riding became disagreeable and he preferred to travel in a carriage or ambulance, both of which, drawn by mules, accompanied his headquarters in the field. Commonly smooth-shaven, as in the excellent oil-painting of him preserved by the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis, the exigencies of

army life often compelled him to wear the beard shown in many of his pictures, and it is thus that he is seen as the central figure in Wilson's painting of the battle of Pea Ridge, formerly owned by the Southern Historical Society of St. Louis, now in the Missouri Room of the Confederate Museum at Richmond. He was a masterly horseman, and in earlier years and the prime of life spent much of his time in the saddle, invariably selecting large and spirited animals for his mounts whenever possible.

CHAPTER III.

PLAN AND FIRST MOVEMENTS OF THE MISSOURI CAMPAIGN.

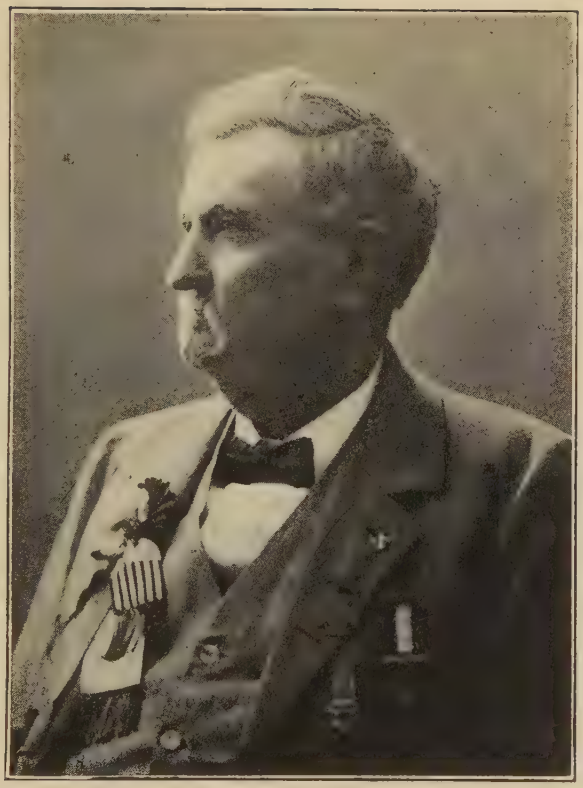
IN the late spring of 1864 the military forces of the Confederacy consisted—not to go too far into other details—of two large armies and three smaller forces. The larger bodies were the Army of Northern Virginia under General Robert E. Lee, on the southern bank of the Rapidan and confronting the Union Army of the Potomac; and the Army of the Tennessee under General Joseph E. Johnston, at Dalton, Georgia, opposed to Sherman's army, then still at Chattanooga in preparation for its great movement to the east and southeast, against Atlanta and thence to the sea. The three smaller bodies of Confederate soldiery were: first, a force guarding the great natural storehouse of the Shenandoah Valley; second, the cavalry force under General Forrest that was always threatening Tennessee; and, third, the Army of the Department of the Trans-Mississippi, in the Southern States west of the Mississippi and under General E. Kirby Smith, he having charge of that Department. It is with this last army that the remainder of our story wholly deals. North of the Louisiana line it consisted chiefly of troops from Arkansas and Missouri and among its officers were Major-General Sterling Price, Brigadier-General Joseph O. Shelby, Major-General John S. Marmaduke, Major-General James F. Fagan, and Brigadier-General W. L. Cabell—names all well known to the war history of the

South and West—their headquarters being in various small towns in Arkansas and along the western bank of the Mississippi.

At this time, early in the summer of 1864, General E. Kirby Smith was weighing the question of what disposal to make of this force at his command. Those were not wanting who urged that it be sent east to join and cöoperate with the Confederate forces under either Lee or Johnston. Among those who made this plea was General "Dick" Taylor, who went so far as to secure a promise from President Jefferson Davis that should the army cross the Mississippi eastward, as he urged, it should be placed under him. This command he never received, for the army never came. More than one Southern authority affirms that E. Kirby Smith hated Taylor so that he was unwilling to satisfy him by giving him the army, and that this was one reason for its being sent into Missouri instead. Be this as it may, the Confederate officers named—Price, Shelby, Marmaduke, Fagan, Cabell, Thomas C. Reynolds, etc.—brought much pressure on Smith to entrust the army to them and send it at once into Missouri. They advanced the claims that this move would compel the Federal Government to divert a large part of their eastern forces into Missouri to meet it, and would thus affect the Union cause in both West and East, weakening Sherman, Grant and Thomas, setting Lee and Johnston correspondingly freer from opposition, and possibly adding enormously to the strength of the Confederacy by the seizure of Missouri and eastern Kansas. This view Kirby Smith favored, and orders were issued to the Army of the Trans-Mississippi to prepare for an in-

vasion of Missouri under the command and leadership of Major-General Sterling Price. Of this plan of campaign it was said, and that by a Northern officer and within a year of the close of the war, that "in distance from base, in country traversed, and in objects aimed at," it "was hardly less stupendous in character than those which have illumined in luster the name of General Sherman."

With a view to further weakening the Union cause in the West and correspondingly strengthening the Confederate arms, secret correspondence was begun by Generals Smith and Price with the secret organizations of Confederate sympathizers whose "lodges" were numerous in Missouri and were claimed to be almost as numerous in Illinois. In Missouri they were known as the "Order of the American Knights of the State of Missouri," in Illinois they were the "Knights of the Golden Circle." Both Kirby Smith and Price looked for large accessions from among the membership of these societies, Price openly asserting that he had received promises from them that they would join him to the number of 30,000 men. It was even a part of the original plan of campaign to form these particular accessions into a separate division, over which Brigadier-General W. L. Cabell was to be placed in command. (See the Appendix, Organization of Price's Army.) As none of this hoped-for reinforcement ever developed, it may be remarked that the reason why these friends of the Confederacy were unable to assist Price to any extent was that General Rosecrans, commanding the Federal Department of the Missouri with headquarters at St. Louis, kept close watch on the "rebel societies," as he called them, and, as soon as Price



Brigadier-General W. L. Cabell.
Commanding Cabell's brigade, Shelby's division, Price's army.

started, Rosecrans arrested and placed in jail the president, secretary, treasurer, and many other members of the Missouri society. The president proved to be none other than the Belgian consul at St. Louis.

Price's army was to consist of three divisions, to be commanded respectively by Major-General James F. Fagan, Major-General John S. Marmaduke, and Brigadier-General Joseph O. Shelby. Fagan's division consisted of four brigades and one "unattached" body of troops, and numbered, all told, twenty regiments of cavalry, one battery of artillery, and one additional section of a battery. Marmaduke's division consisted of two brigades, numbering ten regiments of cavalry, two batteries of artillery, and one company of engineers. Shelby's division contained three brigades, with thirteen regiments of cavalry and one battery of artillery. (For regiments, officers, etc., see the Appendix.) It should be understood that many of these "regiments" were in reality but handfuls of men, probably not one numbering anything like full strength. All in all, Price started with close to 10,000 men, all of whom were mounted. His artillery consisted chiefly of twelve-pounder mountain howitzers and small field-pieces, with one or two remarkable products of rustic blacksmith shops. He had, however, at least eight large Parrott rifled guns (twenty-pounders), of which two had been captured from Federal forces at Pleasant Hill, Louisiana, by General "Dick" Taylor; two from the Eighth Indiana Volunteer Battery, captured by General Marmaduke at Poison Springs and Camden, Arkansas; and four taken by Fagan at Mark's Mill, Arkansas. A large portion of his small-arms and

ammunition had also been captured from Federal forces in the disasters that had befallen the Union arms on the Red River expedition. A considerable proportion of the muskets with which his men were armed had been imported by the Confederacy from England, through Mexico, such, for instance, being the Enfield rifles with which Cabell's brigade was armed. Price also started with a surprisingly large wagon-train of baggage and other equipment, numbering not less than three hundred wagons. During the progress of the invasion this was increased by raids, etc., to the remarkable total of five hundred wagons.

Of the generals commanding these divisions of Price's army, at least two must receive more than passing mention.

John S. Marmaduke was a man of marked intellectual ability and high sense of honor. A Missourian by birth, born in Saline County, he was thirty-four years of age at this time, and had spent many earlier years as a student at Chapel Hill College, Lafayette County, Missouri; at the Masonic College at Lexington, Missouri; at Yale and Harvard Colleges, and had graduated from West Point in 1857. He had thus enjoyed all the advantages of wealth, social position, wide education and thorough military training, having been a Lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry, U.S.A., with Albert Sidney Johnston's expedition against the Mormons. He was a man of handsome and distinguished bearing, and a striking figure in the field, with his tall physique, clear complexion, and long, light mustache, and invariably wore an officer's soft hat, turned up at the left side and fastened with a silver crescent. Dur-

ing the entire campaign he rode a very fine mare of which he was very proud, a beautifully saddle-gaited animal, which he called "Miss Mary Price." Later in life he became Governor of Missouri, in 1884, but died in that office, and over his grave at Jefferson City the State has erected a monument.

Joseph O. Shelby was by birth a Kentuckian, educated at Transylvania University and in Philadelphia, and settling in Lafayette County, Missouri, in 1849. Lacking the military training of Marmaduke, he was yet among the most daring of cavalry officers, and the fame of "Shelby's charges" endures to-day. After the war he was among those who for a time cast in their lot with Maximilian in Mexico, but soon returned to his native land, and at the time of his death in 1897 was United States Marshal of the Western District of Missouri.

There is a slight disagreement—which may be a mere technicality—between various writers and authorities as to where General Price assumed command of his army of invasion. His biographer, W. L. Webb, says in "Battles and Biographies of Missourians," that it was on August 30th, at Tulip, Arkansas, but the Governmental records of the Civil War state that it was on August 29th, at Princeton, in the same State. It is certain, however, that his army entered Missouri on September 19th, crossing from Arkansas into Ripley County, near the southeastern corner of the State. On this date he also divided his force so as to cover the widest possible strip of country in his progress, and from his entrance into the State up to his detour around Jefferson City he advanced his army in three parallel columns, Marmaduke's division

on the right, Fagan and Price himself in the center, and Shelby on the left. The first skirmish occurred the next day, September 20th, when a detachment of the Third Missouri State Federal Militia Cavalry under a Lieutenant Erich Pape was driven out of Doniphan, in Doniphan County, and the little town was burned.

As it is the series of engagements that led up to or composed the Battle of Westport that form the chief object of this history, rather than the details of Price's progress thither, we shall have to pass over much of his invasion by giving an outline of his itinerary from the State line up to his movements in the more immediate neighborhood of Kansas City. Thus his general line of march through the State was as follows:

September 19th.—Entered Missouri in Ripley County.

September 20th.—Burned Doniphan, in Doniphan County.

September 22d.—At Greenville, Wayne County.

September 28th.—Repulsed Federals under General Ewing at Pilot Knob, Iron County.

October 2d.—At St. Clair, Franklin County.

October 4th.—Crossed the Gasconade River, in Gasconade County.

October 5th.—Colonel David Shanks, Sixth Missouri Cavalry, Shelby's division, killed by a Federal scouting party while crossing the Osage River near Castle Rock.

October 7th.—Attacked outposts at Jefferson City, Cole County.

October 8th.—Withdrew and made detour south of Jefferson City.

October 10th.—At Boonville, Cooper County.

October 15th.—Took Glasgow, Howard County, after small fight.

October 19th.—Vigorous skirmish 3 miles south of Lexington, Lafayette County, with outposts of Blunt's Federal force on a scout near that town.

October 21st.—Engagement at the Little Blue River, Jackson County.

CHAPTER IV.

PRICE'S MOVEMENTS TO JEFFERSON CITY.—PREPARATIONS AGAINST HIS ADVANCE.

PRICE'S two previous smaller invasions of Missouri soil had been only too well known to the Federal authorities, and had been indeed such a bugbear to the citizens of the State that a common joke of the day was that in Missouri there were five seasons in the year—"spring, summer, fall, Price's raid, and winter." Nor were rumors of his coming confined to any one season, and it was not nntil it was certain that his army was actually well within the boundaries of the State that the Federal commanders realized the need of taking definite steps against him.

Major-General W. S. Rosecrans, commanding the Department of the Missouri, as has been mentioned, with headquarters at St. Louis, was himself most incredulous in regard to Price's reported advance. As late as the 24th of September he telegraphed to Major-General S. R. Curtis, at Fort Leavenworth that he did not credit the reports he had received, and as late as the 28th he was inclined to believe that at most Price only contemplated a raid along the south bank of the Osage and possibly into Kansas. But when, within the next twenty-four hours, it began to seem as if St. Louis itself might actually be Price's first objective point, and that he was even then almost within striking distance; and when it was learned—

with amusing exaggerations—how considerable were the numbers of his army, the city had some exceedingly exciting days.

Rosecrans telegraphed east for Major-General Alfred S. Pleasanton to come and take command of the forces in the field, Pleasanton having just been succeeded in the command of the cavalry in the Shenandoah by General "Phil" Sheridan. He also issued a call through the State of Illinois for all the men that could be raised, and summoned the entire available strength of the (Federal) Missouri Enrolled Militia. In response to the first of these summons there came to St. Louis five regiments of new hundred-days' volunteers from Illinois, all infantry—the One Hundred and Thirty-second, One Hundred and Thirty-fourth, One Hundred and Thirty-eighth, One Hundred and Fortieth, and the One Hundred and Forty-second Illinois Volunteers—who were at once formed into a brigade under Colonel Hugo Wangelin, for the defence of the city. At the second summons there were assembled by Brigadier-General E. C. Pike, with the assistance of Brigadier-Generals C. D. Wolff and Madison Miller, skeletons of the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Tenth, Eleventh, Thirteenth, Fifty-second, Eightieth, and Eighty-fifth regiments of the Missouri Enrolled Militia. The Seventh Kansas, a veteran regiment returning from service at Memphis, was held, Major-General A. J. Smith being in command, while Colonel E. C. Catherwood was placed in charge of a newly-recruited regiment known as Merrill's Horse, and of a part of the Thirteenth Missouri Volunteer Cavalry. Besides these forces, Senator B. Gratz Brown and Major

Frederick T. Lederberger assembled between four and five thousand citizens, and all were set at work together at building fortifications, defences, out-works, rifle-pits, artillery-barbettes, and the like, for the purpose of resisting Price. The First Brigade of the defence-force—consisting of the First Regiment Missouri Enrolled Militia, Colonel W. P. Fenn; the Second, Colonel E. Stafford; the Eightieth, Colonel L. J. Rankin; and the Eighty-fifth, Colonel W. A. J. Smith—numbering 1,750 men, under Brigadier-General Madison Miller, was hurried out to hold the bridges and fords of the Meramec River. Two other principal brigades were the Second, under Brigadier-General C. D. Wolff—consisting of the Third Missouri Enrolled Militia, Colonel Vahlkamp; the Sixth, Colonel T. Niederwieser; and the Tenth, Colonel H. Hildebrand, a total of 1,200 men—and the Third Brigade, 1,500 men, under Brigadier-General Geo. F. Meyers, composed of the Eleventh Missouri Enrolled Militia, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Beckman; the Thirteenth, Colonel J. B. Marcy; and the National Guard of St. Louis under Lieutenant W. B. Parker. To these two brigades there were added three "unattached" companies of militia cavalry under Major F. Walter.

It has often been debated whether Price ever actually meant to attack St. Louis, but at least he gave its citizens a tremendous scare. A detachment of his scouts actually did come within a day's march of its suburbs, for on September 30th Major-General A. J. Smith and a force consisting of both the last-mentioned brigades, the Seventh Kansas, and the cavalry under Major Walter, was sent out to the village of Kirkwood—now the residence-suburb

of that name—to resist what they believed to be Price's van-guard, but no actual engagement occurred. Price himself, in his official reports to the Confederate War Department, says that there were two reasons why he did not move upon St. Louis. They were, first, that while he was at Ironton information was brought him that the Federal defence-force in and about the city exceeded his own by two to one; and, second, that he deemed it of the utmost importance to reach Jefferson City as soon as possible and seize the place and its abundant supplies. His scouting-parties in the direction of St. Louis were therefore called in and his army turned westward.

As soon as it was evident that Price's course was to be west along the Missouri River, Rosecrans ordered Major-General Smith and the Seventh Kansas veterans in pursuit, at the same time sending word out into the western portion of the State that all Federal troops were immediately to assemble at Jefferson City to protect the capitol against capture by the invaders. The Federal brigades under Brigadier-Generals John McNeil at Rolla, John B. Sanborn at Springfield, Egbert B. Brown at Warrensburg, and Clinton B. Fisk (the nominal headquarters of the last-named being at St. Louis), responded and proceeded with all haste to fortify Jefferson City. Major-General Alfred S. Pleasanton reached St. Louis from the east on October 8th and went on the same day to Jefferson City by steamer, to take charge of all the Federal forces and move against Price without delay. On that date it was, as mentioned in the previously-given itinerary of Price's progress through the State, that Fagan's division attacked the Federal out-works about the capital city, but was

withdrawn immediately and the army passed around Jefferson City to the south and turned westward toward the remaining goals of Kansas City, Fort Leavenworth, and eastern Kansas.

This affair at Jefferson City, brief as it was—indeed, hardly more than a temporary halt in the movements of the invading force—yet deserves more than passing mention, in that the attack of Fagan's division, its immediate withdrawal, and the passing onward of Price's force, combine to mark the failure of the great invasion to accomplish the second of the original objects of its campaign. An attack upon the city of St. Louis, and even its possible seizure, was the first in order of the objects which it was hoped by the authorities and strategists of the Confederacy, and even by Price's own officers and men, that the invasion would accomplish. Such attack was, as we have seen, not even begun. The seizure of Jefferson City, the capital of the State, with its seat of the State government and the contents of the State treasury, was the second such object, and if second in order yet probably first in rank. The Confederate element in Missouri and their friends in the other Southern States never ceased to claim that while the Federal element might be in nominal control, yet the State and its government was Confederate at heart. Claiborne F. Jackson, the Governor of the State (elected 1861), though having fled from the capital when Captain Lyon seized the city, yet continued to claim his office in spite of having been succeeded in actual power by the "provisional" appointee of the United States Government, Hamilton R. Gamble. Accordingly, on Jackson's death late in 1862, Thomas C. Reynolds, who had him-

self been Governor of Missouri from 1840 to 1844 and who was Lieutenant-Governor under the Jackson administration, claimed that the rightful title and authority of the Governorship of Missouri descended to him, and from his retirement to South Carolina came at once to Richmond, Virginia, where, with the Missouri Senators of the Confederacy, he conducted what might be called the Southern claim to the State of Missouri. This claim it was hoped that Price's invasion would convert into fact, and on the start of the campaign Reynolds joined Price and continued with him, the Confederate hope and plan being that Price would seize Jefferson City and proclaim Reynolds as the rightful Governor of the State. This plan was frustrated, and this hope crushed, by Price's withdrawal of his forces from that attack upon the Federal defences of Jefferson City which, as we have seen, Fagan's division of his army had begun. Of Price's withdrawal and failure to seize the capital, Reynolds wrote in an open letter "to the public," dated at Marshall, Texas, December 17th, 1864:

"The confused operations before it (Jefferson City) may be judged by the facts that our ammunition train came near being led into the Federal lines, and when the army encamped at night neither of the two officers next in rank to General Price, Fagan and Marmaduke, was informed of or could learn the location of any division except his own, or of General Price's headquarters. The city could have been taken the day he neared it; it was then defended mainly by raw militia, most of whom our friends said were anxious to surrender or even to join us. The State House, with its lofty dome, lay that day in full

view of a gallant army confident of victory; next morning . . . General Price suddenly ordered a retreat, on the road to Springfield."

Events now began to move rapidly, for on reaching the capital next day Pleasanton took command of the Federal forces there and at once ordered Sanborn and his brigade to pursue Price with all speed. Late the same day (October 9th) the remainder of the defence-force—now known as the Cavalry Division, Department of the Missouri—set off to the westward also, all under the command of Brigadier-General John B. Sanborn. Pleasanton himself remained at Jefferson City to ascertain what line of march and action the campaign of pursuit would take, and to provide for additional troops, reinforcements, etc., before he himself should join his army. (For the troops composing these commands, see the Appendix.)

By this time the absence of discipline and the consequent state of disorder in Price's never very orderly army was, as a prominent Southerner and eye-witness says, "something terrific." The words are quoted from the above-mentioned open letter of Ex-Governor Reynolds himself, who has left us in that public and published document a startling picture of the march and its scenes. In his description he says:

"Nothing contributed more to throw everything into confusion and harrass and fatigue his [Price's] troops than his singular order of march, sometimes called the tail-foremost or topsy-turvy system of moving an army. On the day's march, the division which had marched and camped in the rear the day before passed to the front, the troops halting till it had done so. In this Virginia reel of regiments, brigades and divisions, bewildered

stragglers and new recruits got completely lost, until at last, a common sense cutting the Gordian knot of military blundering, they ceased attempting to find their companies and adopted the practice of bivouacing themselves in what was well known as the 'stragglers' camp.' The origin of this system of marching is obscure, but a gentleman who witnessed its effects in the Missouri State troops under General Price in 1861 hazarded the plausible conjecture, based on the similarity of operation and results, that it is merely an enlarged application of the mode in which that renowned warrior, Baron Munchausen, killed the lion by thrusting his arm down the animal's throat, and turning him wrong side out by pulling his tail through his mouth.

"Under such management of an army, of course outrages and crimes could not be repressed. I cheerfully testify to the strenuous efforts of the commanders of divisions and brigades, and the officers generally, to preserve order. Nor should any one judge harshly of private soldiers yielding to the combined temptations of a rich conntry and an almost total withdrawal of restraint. Even then the real fighting-men did little injury, sneaks and dead-heads being the principal plunderers. It would take a volume to describe the acts of outrage; neither station nor sex was any protection; Southern men and women were as little spared as Unionists; the elegant mansion of General Robert E. Lee's accomplished niece and the cabin of the negro were alike ransacked; John Deane, the first civilian ever made a prisoner by Mr. Lincoln's Government, had his watch and his money robbed from his person in the open street of Potosi, in broad day, as unceremoniously as a German merchant at Fredericktown was forced, a pistol at his ear, to surrender his concealed greenbacks. As the citizens of Arkansas and northern Texas have seen in the goods unblushingly offered them for sale, the clothes of the poor man's infant were as attractive spoil as the merchant's

silk or calico or the curtain taken from the rich man's parlor; ribbons and trumpery gewgaws were stolen from milliners and jeweled rings were forced from the fingers of delicate maidens whose very brothers were fighting in Cockrell's Confederate Missouri brigade. . . . . .

"The natural result ensued, and the disorders continued. They may be judged of by the fact that at Boonville, the hotel occupied as General Price's own headquarters, was the scene of drunken revelry by night; that guerillas rode unchecked, in open day, before it, with human scalps hanging to their bridles, and tauntingly shaking bundles of plundered greenbacks at our needy soldiers; and in an open letter to him [Price], which he left unanswered and undenied, I asserted that while 'the wholesale pillage in the vicinity of the army had made it impossible to obtain anything by purchase, stragglers and camp-followers were enriching themselves by plundering the defenceless families of our own soldiers in Confederate service.' On still darker deeds I shudderingly keep silent."

On the 11th, while near Boonville, in Cooper County, Price received W. L. Quantrill and Captain "Bill" Anderson, both well known then and since as leaders among the guerillas who had long harried the unfortunate State of Missouri (to say nothing of Kansas), and commissioned them to set out on side-raids, the former to cut the Hannibal and Saint Joseph Railroad, the latter to destroy the North Missouri Railroad, both moves designed to prevent the importation of more Federal troops to act against his army. Anderson was killed fifteen days later, near Albany in the southwest corner of Ray County, by Lieutenant-Colonel S. P. Cox of the Thirty-third Missouri Enrolled Militia and Major John Grimes of the Fifty-first, and his arms and equipment were ordered distributed to

these officers and their men as "honorable trophies." The commission mentioned as having been given him by Price was found on his body. Quantrill practically disappeared from the State after receiving the instructions alluded to, and was next heard from in Kentucky.

On the 18th there reached Price a spy whom he had sent some time before to report on conditions, preparations, etc., in St. Louis, and who brought the surprising message that Price was being pursued by 24,000 men from that city and 15,000 from Jefferson City! In view of the actual numbers engaged in Price's pursuit, there is room for considerable doubt as to whether this "spy" had ever even attempted to carry out his dangerous mission, but it was probably from this source that there originated the grossly-exaggerated impressions current among Price's officers as to the forces opposed to them.

Long before this date, however, Federal forces were preparing for Price's coming, in his front, as well as pursuing in his rear. On the 17th day of September, Major-General S. R. Curtis, commanding the Department of Kansas and the Indian Territory, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, returned to his post from the neighborhood of Fort Kearney, where he had been busy compelling the hostile Brules, Sioux and Cheyennes to desist from an attack, for which they had seized the opportunity of the Government's absorption in the war in the East, on their old enemies, the Pawnees. With him returned Major R. H. Hunt, who had been his only staff-officer on this expedition. He found on his desk dispatches notifying him that Price was even then starting from Arkansas on another grand invasion of Missouri.

That same day Curtis telegraphed the substance of his information to Rosecrans at St. Louis and wired to Governor Thomas Carney of Kansas, at Topeka, that he might have to "ask the militia of southern Kansas to aid in checking rebel approaches." Within the next few days he managed to set much more of the machinery of military resistance in motion, ordering the towns of Lawrence, Paola, Olathe, and Fort Scott to be fortified against possible attack; summoning Major-General J. G. Blunt in from an expedition against the Indians west of Fort Larned; mounting heavy siege-guns at the above-named Kansas towns and at Fort Leavenworth; notifying the Fifteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry at Mound City, the Sixteenth and Eleventh regiments and McLain's Independent Battery Colorado Volunteers at Paola, that they must be prepared to move at any day; sending the Second Colorado Cavalry from Fort Leavenworth to Kansas City, then on a scout to Pleasant Hill, and finally stationing them at Hickman's Mills; and finally summoning Captain J. H. Dodge's Ninth Wisconsin Battery in from Fort Riley.

Rosecrans kept Curtis posted as to his own measures against Price in the neighborhood of St. Louis, while from Jefferson City Curtis received reports of Price's advance toward that place. On the 8th inst. he urged Governor Carney to call out the entire militia of Kansas, and on the 9th the Governor published his correspondence with Curtis and issued the following call:

"Kansans, rally! You will do so, as you have always done so promptly when your soil has been invaded. The call this time will come to you louder and stronger because

you know that the foe will seek to glut his vengeance upon you. Meet him, then, at the threshold, and strike boldly; strike as one man against him. Let all business be suspended. The work to be done now is to protect the State against marauder and murderer. Till this is accomplished we must lead a soldier's life and do a soldier's duty. Men of Kansas, rally! One blow, one earnest united blow will foil the invader and save you. Who will falter? Who is not ready to meet the peril? Who will not defend his home and the State? To arms, then! To arms and the tented field until the rebel foe shall be baffled and beaten back! "THOMAS CARNEY,

"Governor."

This call, in spite of its almost ludicrously melodramatic phraseology, was all very well as far as it went, but an experienced soldier like Curtis knew that the time was short, and that no days might be wasted in folly, oratory, and indecision. Accordingly, on the 10th he took matters in his own hands, proclaimed martial law throughout the State of Kansas, ordered all business to cease, and summoned every able-bodied man between the ages of eighteen and sixty into the ranks, whites and blacks alike. This vigorous proceeding had the effect of arousing the population to the emergency of the situation, all business was suspended as ordered, and the organization of military forces took precedence over all else. Major-General Deitzler, in command of the State Militia, came to the front in this critical situation in a spirit far more admirable and effective than that shown by many of his political colleagues, and issued orders for the men of each county to concentrate at the county-seat or other designated town, there to be formed into regiments, etc., commanding each man to bring with him such arms as

he might have at hand, with "a full supply of ammunition" and "two blankets, a tin cup, knife, fork, haversack, coffee-pot and frying-pan."

Even at this date Kansas contained its full quota of cranks and many of these mounted the stump or took up the pen, assuring the people that the State militia could not be taken outside the boundaries of the State by any authority for any purpose, and claiming that Curtis' only object in raising the troops was to have them away from their residences at the time of the approaching November elections. These allegations were actually taken with sufficient seriousness to lead Governor Carney and Major-General Deitzler to make a trip to Fort Leavenworth to ask General Curtis as to their truth. That vigorous old soldier promptly and emphatically informed them that his authority was sufficient to take State militia anywhere at any time; though he added that he did not think it likely that any one would be in service more than a few weeks, and that every man should be mustered out immediately the danger was past. This satisfied the State officials and silenced the demagogues—the latter for a time only, as we shall see.

Between the 10th and 14th of October, General Curtis went to Kansas City—which point Price had now publicly announced as his first goal, with Fort Leavenworth as his second—and there reconnoitered in person the country that with the experienced soldier's instinct and observation he saw must be the field of the approaching battle. He decided to make a first stand against Price at the Big Blue River, a second before Kansas City, and a third, if necessary, at Wyandotte, Kansas—now Kansas

City, Kansas. He directed his chief engineer, Lieutenant George T. Robinson, to provide strong earthworks at these points, and also around Kansas City on the south and east, and to connect Kansas City and Wyandotte with a floating bridge. In all these works the then City Engineer of Kansas City, Mr. William Miller, aided, and was later given special praise by Curtis in his reports. The limits of the Kansas City of that day did not extend beyond the present Holmes Street on the east, Eighth and Locust on the southeast, and Eleventh and Centra Streets on the south. The fortifications provided for use in case Curtis' forces in the coming battle should be driven back upon Kansas City, lay accordingly just outside of each of these points, beginning at Seventh and Charlotte Streets, passing Ninth and Locust Streets (at exactly the location of the Public Library to-day), and running thence to Fourteenth and Central and ending at Fourteenth and Madison. They were strongly built of their kind, and consisted of a breastwork of earth with a sloping outer face and a trench within, and before them was dug a series of rifle-pits, these being the ordinary form of such fortifications at that day. They were so deeply dug and the thrown-up earth was so solidly packed that they were plainly visible and were the beloved playground of the boys of the city for more than ten years after the war. The plan for these works was made by Lieutenant Robinson and they were carried out under command of Colonel R. T. Van Horn, then a member of the State Legislature, editor of the "Journal of Commerce" (predecessor of the "Kansas City Journal"), and in command of Van Horn's Battalion United States Re-

serves, reporting to General Curtis and practically a member of his staff. In Curtis' report of this visit to Kansas City he states that he "found lawyers, ministers, doctors, merchants, all digging in the earthworks before Kansas City and at the Big Blue River." He sent out warnings to travellers and merchants, and notified steamboat-owners and captains that if they expected their craft to ply on the Missouri east of Kansas City they had better bullet-proof their pilot-houses and engine-rooms, and wired to the army headquarters at St. Louis of his intended firm stand against Price's approach. By the 10th, Major-General J. G. Blunt had arrived at Olathe on his hurried return from his Indian campaign in western Kansas, and received orders from Curtis to take up his headquarters at Hickman's Mills with all of the Kansas troops that were at the time available. He accordingly gathered skeletons of what presently became the First, Second and Third brigades of Curtis' army, and went into camp at the designated point at 11 a. m. of the 14th, leaving orders that as the remainder of the Kansas troops came in they were to report to Major-General G. W. Deitzler at Shawneetown, just within the Kansas State line, and were there to be organized and forwarded as rapidly as possible.

Two days later a mutiny broke out in this camp of Blunt's at Hickman's Mills, and on the part of men who should have learned far better by this time. Brigadier-General W. H. M. Fishback, in charge of the Kansas Militia in the camp and under General Blunt, together with Colonel J. S. Snoddy of the Sixth Regiment Kansas State Militia, decided not to recognize the authority of

Blunt or Curtis as having power to take State militia across the State line, and both refused to obey orders they had received, and ordered the entire militia to return into the territory of Kansas. This unsoldierly performance, and one sufficient in itself to have defeated the plans for checking Price, was promptly nipped in the bud by Blunt's placing the two offenders in close arrest, and directing the Sixth regiment to elect another colonel immediately. This the militia very cheerfully did, naming a veteran, James Montgomery, nnder whose leadership they later did very good work in the field—"gallant service," as Blunt himself later reported. It is probably due to Brigadier-General Fishback's memory to add that Curtis himself later ordered Fishback freed from this arrest, and even placed his name on the honor-roll of the troops after the campaign, while Blunt himself rather grimly puts in a plea for them in his report of the matter, saying that he could not "inflict upon them the summary punishment prescribed by the rules of war, viz., death," because he knew "that they were the instruments selected . . by others to carry out their mischievous and disgraceful designs."

Among General Curtis' troubles at this time not the least was a strangely widespread impression that all this work, preparation and the like had been based upon mere rumors of Price's coming, such as had so often obtained a considerable degree of credence in former years. Indeed, on the 19th, the very day when General Blunt and the bulk of his command was engaged in a fierce little fight near Lexington with Price's van-guard, certain newspapers published in Kansas City and the little

Kansas towns near by expressed the opinion that Price had long since left the State, if, indeed, he had ever seriously entered it. But when the news of this actual fight so near at hand was spread throughout the community and the militia soldiery, General Curtis suddenly found himself the object of a sentiment of desperate dependence upon him and his efforts that was as marked as had been the former atmosphere of unbelief and suspicion.

In the meantime, from the 10th to the 20th of the month, Price had been moving rapidly from the direction of Jefferson City toward Kansas City. On the 15th, a detachment of 1,200 men of Shelby's division—consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Alonzo W. Slayback's Missouri Cavalry Battalion, Elliott's Missouri Cavalry regiment under Colonel Benjamin Elliott, the Fifth Missouri Cavalry under Colonel F. B. Gordon, and Collins' Missouri Battery under Captain Richard A. Collins—made, under the leadership of Brigadier-General M. Jeff Thompson, who commonly commanded Shelby's own brigade (as distinguished from the rest of Shelby's division), a side-raid upon the town of Sedalia. Starting before daybreak the horsemen took the little town completely by surprise, Elliott's cavalry leading the charge in over the prairie upon the two earthen redoubts and the line of rifle-pits. The actual fighting lasted but a few moments and the affair was hardly accompanied by great credit to either side, for the defenders fled pell-mell as soon as the Confederate howitzers of Captain Collins' battery opened fire, and even Jeff Thompson, in his reports to the Confederate authorities, admits that "there was considerable plundering." The raiders took everything they could

carry from the town, destroyed everything that bore the mark of the United States Government, and eye-witnesses of that day tell of seeing them riding through the streets, their feet bare in their stirrups, carrying their boots full of whiskey, for lack of other facilities for its transportation.

Pleasanton's army was hard on Price's rear, Brig.-Gen. Sanborn being in charge until the 19th, when Pleasanton himself came on from his headquarters at Jefferson City and took command of the pursuit in person. There was constant skirmishing all the way, whenever any of Price's rear fell back far enough or when Pleasanton's van-guard pushed ahead sufficiently to bring either in touch with the other. Price's men carried away everything from the farms and villages and destroyed whatever could not be loaded into their wagons, largely with a view to retarding their pursuers by wiping out both supplies and fodder. Their numbers were considerably swelled by what they called "recruits," but whom the Federal sympathizers regarded as Confederate supporters who had small liking for the prospect of close interviews with Pleasanton's men. Price practically forced into his ranks all the male citizens of military age encountered in his march, and notices still exist which were posted in Lexington on his arrival there, ordering all such to "report for duty" to officers appointed for the purpose of assigning them. This policy resulted in there being accumulated among his force a large number of unarmed men and boys—Price himself says "several thousand"—and all such were attached to the wagon-train and made to assist the enormous numbers of wagons and horses that had been ac-

cumulated by the Confederates. Not a few of Price's officers were much opposed to this policy, and Brigadier-General W. L. Cabell has left a graphic description of how this unarmed mob rushed wildly to whatever part of the army was least engaged, when any firing occurred.

CHAPTER V.

ENGAGEMENTS AT THE LITTLE BLUE, INDEPENDENCE, AND THE BIG BLUE.

ABOUT the 17th of the month Major-General Blunt, at Curtis' command, set out from Hickman's Mills with practically all of the Kansans there gathered under him. Some 2,000 of the First and Second brigades into which Curtis' forces had now been formed (see Appendix) composed his force, including their two batteries of four twelve-pounder mountain howitzers each. With these men, all mounted, he made an extended scout through the towns of Pleasant Hill, Holden, and Lexington. Three miles south of the last place he and his men made on the 19th the determined little fight of which we have heard while noting Price's advance, and retreated only when they had forced Price to halt and bring up his heavy Parrott rifled guns and put them into action. On this being done, Blunt and his force retreated to the banks of the Little Blue River, a small stream eight miles east of the town of Independence. The sharpness of this skirmish may be judged from General Shelby's comment thereon to his brother-officers. Reporting that he had been resisted by troops under Blunt, some of the others doubted that Blunt was the man in command. Shelby, who had met Blunt before, answered simply: "Well, gentlemen, all I have to say is that it was either Blunt or the devil!"

By the next day, the 20th, General Curtis had placed practically all his army so as to resist Price to the best advantage. A few scattering volnnteers were at Kansas City with the Kansas City Home Guards under Colonel Kersey Coates. A few others were on guard at Westport and other minor points. His main line of defence was, of course, the elaborate and complete earthworks, which have been mentioned as constructed along the western bank of the Big Blue River from its junction with the Missouri River south to the Hickman's Mills crossing. Till the moment came for the use of this line, however, he meant to annoy the enemy as much as possible by fighting him all the way from where Blunt was now in touch with his van-guard. On the 20th, Curtis ordered the newly-made Fourth Brigade (created at Blunt's request from the late-arriving Kansans and other forces that till then had been stationed elsewhere) under Colonel James H. Ford, and the Independent Battery of Colorado Volunteers under Captain W. D. McLain, to join Blunt's forces at the Little Blue and there to "feel" the enemy and compel him to develop an attack. It was not intended—it was in fact forbidden by Curtis—to bring on a battle at this point, and all these forces were instructed to retreat to the Big Blue as soon as hard-pressed by Price's columns.

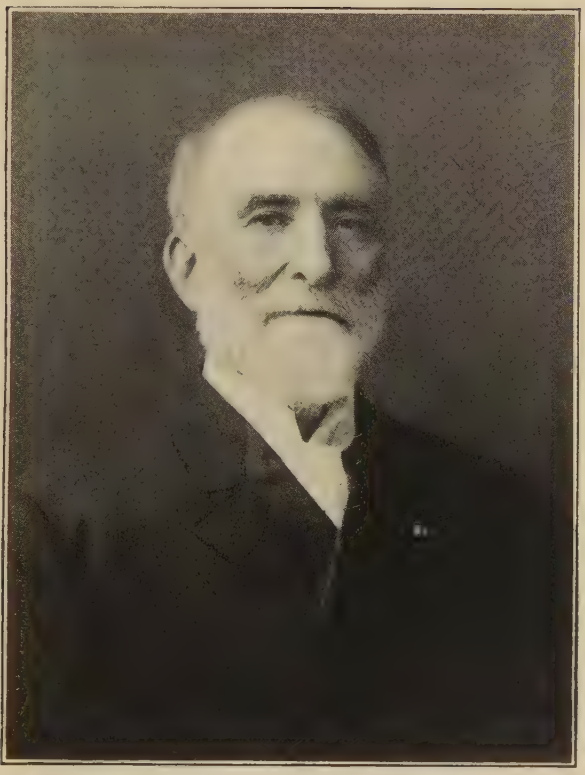
The morning of the 21st brought General Curtis the news that these forces were already engaged, and he at once rode to the scene himself and directed first the resistance and then the retreat. The Confederate attack at the Little Blue was made by Major-General Marmaduke's division, the Tenth Missouri Cavalry under Colonel

Robert T. Lawther leading, reinforced by one hundred and fifty of the Third Missouri Cavalry under Colonel Colton Greene and the Seventh Missouri Cavalry under Colonel S. G. Kitchen. General Marmaduke himself had two horses shot under him in the fight here. The Federal brigades were dismounted and drawn up on the summit of the wooded slope rising to the west of the little river, Moonlight's brigade and four howitzers in the center, Jennison's on the right (the Third Wisconsin Cavalry forming his right and the Fifteenth Kansas Cavalry his left), and Ford's on the left—Ford placing McLain's Colorado battery in the center of his line, the Sixteenth Kansas to the left of it, and the Second Colorado at the right. While in line and waiting for the Confederate attack, the men of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry sang

"Rally 'round the flag, boys."

The bridge across the stream in front of this line of battle had been burned, as the last detail of all, by Major Martin Anderson and two companies of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, who the night before had hauled a huge wagon-load of hay upon the bridge and fired it as soon as the Confederates came in sight. General Marmaduke reports that his Engineer Company under Captain J. T. Hogane rebuilt or improvised another bridge, but the bulk of his command did not wait for this, and made their way to the western side of the little stream and opened fire on the waiting Federal line. Their first attack, in the order mentioned, was repulsed, but as their reinforcements came up they regained and held their ground. Among other casualties received on the Federal side in

this sharply-fought engagement, Major J. H. Smith, a much-beloved officer of the Second Colorado Cavalry, was shot through the heart and instantly killed while on his horse, directing the dismounting of his men for volley-firing against the Confederate approach. A Captain G. L. Grove, in command of Company G of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, only 23 years of age, but yet widely and honorably known throughout Kansas, so over-exerted himself that he died at Westport a few days later. Senator "Jim" Lane of Kansas also took part in this fight, nominally on Curtis' staff, but actually fighting in the ranks with a Sharps' carbine, having been supplied with his equipments by Major Hunt. The fearlessness with which General Curtis exposed himself in the face of the enemy, while directing the action and endeavoring to hold his not over-steady militiamen to their work, may be inferred from the fact that of the forty mounted men of his personal escort fifteen had their horses shot under them. During the resistance to Marmaduke's attack here, Major Hunt opened with the two howitzers attached to Curtis' escort, from the shelter of a little group of trees, houses, and a blacksmith's shop. The Confederates promptly turned both artillery and musketry on the spot and two of the battery horses fell at their first volley. The sergeant in charge, a notorious bully of Fort Leavenworth, promptly took to his heels, when Major Hunt, Major Ross of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry (later Senator Ross of Kansas), and an orderly named Bloomer, united in cutting the harness from the dead horses and saving the gun, Major Hunt being hit in the head by a piece of an exploding Confederate shell while thus engaged. An



Major R. H. Hunt.

Chief of Ordnance and Artillery on the staff of General Curtis.

interesting feature among the events of the fight was the arrival on the field of battle of a little company of would-be Federal volunteers from the town of Warrensburg, under the lead of a Captain Geo. S. Grover, who came of their own accord to take part in the fighting and to whom General Curtis promptly assigned a position which would give them what they wanted, and he later reported that they did excellent service. The losses on the Confederate side in this action at the Little Blue are unknown, but Major-General Blunt estimated those on the Federal side at two hundred killed, wounded, and missing.

Toward the close of the afternoon Curtis ordered all his hard-pressed forces to abandon the field and retire to their assigned positions in the earthworks and defences along the west bank of the Big Blue River, between Independence and Kansas City (see maps). As his men were retreating through the town of Independence to this new position a woman fired a shot from a window of a dwelling at the passing troopers of the Second Colorado Cavalry and wounded one of the lieutenants of that regiment.

While going back with his force, Curtis received, in the town of Independence, a telegram informing him of Sheridan's decisive defeat of Early in the Shenandoah Valley, and he sent out messengers to carry the news of this victory to all the troops and to residents in the near-by country. By the same couriers he also made public his intention of checking Price the next day at the Big Blue, and from the saddle he personally announced these messages, etc., in the town-square of Independence. He sent a telegram to Rosecrans at St. Louis, urging him in turn to make Pleasanton push Price to the utmost, hoping

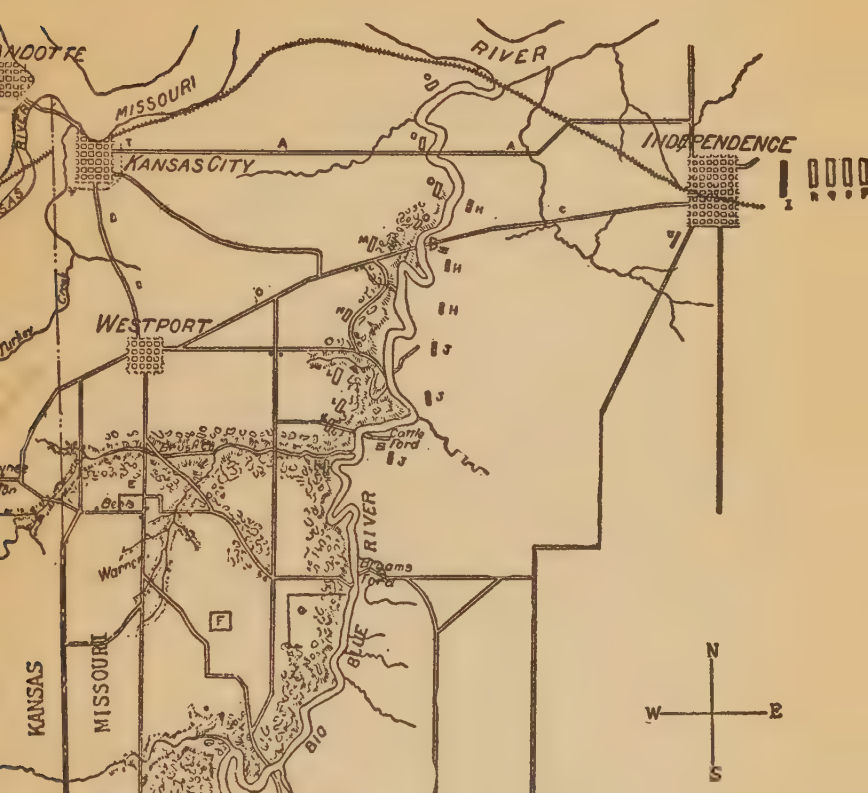
thus to crush the invaders between front and rear attacks. Finally he reassured himself that every foot of the Big Blue was closely guarded, a front of between ten and fifteen miles. Such was the situation on the night of the 21st inst. as detailed in his own reports of that evening, his own force (which he estimated at 15,000 men) entrenched along the west bank of the Big Blue, facing eastward toward Independence, Price's army covering the country from near the Big Blue eastward nearly to the Little Blue, and Pleasanton lying on Price's rear.

On the next day occurred the action known as the Battle of the Big Blue River.

The dawn of the 22d found General Curtis at his headquarters in the field, on the line of the trenches along the Big Blue and at almost exactly the point where Fifteenth Street (extended) now crosses the stream. The entrenchments north of that point—Curtis' left wing—were under the general command of Major-General G. W. Deitzler of the Kansas Militia, and those south of this point were generally under Major-General Blunt. Deitzler had not participated in the fight at the Little Blue the day before, but had spent the time in preparing his portion of the trenches for occupation by such militia as he already had with him and by those who should return from the engagement at the Little Blue. Governor Thomas Carney himself was also present here, and personally "entered with zeal and energy upon the work" at the same point, as Curtis later wrote. Colonel C. W. Blair, commanding the Third Brigade, also executed much of the preparations here, felling trees, obstructing fordable places in the stream, placing the guns of Dodge's Ninth Wisconsin Battery in

Showing Position of Forces in morning of October 22d.

ap No. I.



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fications before Kansas City. U—Wagon-train with Price's army.

position, etc. The mouth of the Blue was guarded by 250 men of the Fourth Kansas, next to whom on the south came the Second Kansas Colored State Militia under Captains R. J. Hinton and J. L. Rafety. Next in order was the Sixth Regiment, with their newly-elected Colonel, James Montgomery. The Ninth Wisconsin Battery under Captain Dodge and the Independent Colorado Battery with their fine rifled field-pieces had position in what was thus the center of the line of resistance. To their right—southward, again—lay the Fifth Kansas and Lieutenant-Colonel G. P. Eves' Twenty-fourth Kansas State Militia, better known by the name of the Bourbon County Militia Battalion. Beyond these were the Tenth Kansas and the right section of the Second Kansas Battery under Lieutenant D. C. Knowles, and at Byrom's Ford (see map) was the Fourth Kansas under Colonel W. D. McCain. The southern end of the line was formed chiefly by Colonel C. R. Jennison's First Brigade and Moonlight's Second Brigade, the extreme southern point of the Hickman's Mills Crossing being held by Brigadier-General M. S. Grant with 100 militiamen of the Second and the Twenty-first Kansas and one brass howitzer under Captain J. T. Burnes of the Second. Such was the long line of battle which it was hoped would check Price and the 37,000 men whom rumor reported as accompanying him.

Early in the morning the skirmishers moving ahead of Price's van drove in the outposts and pickets that were in front of Curtis' headquarters, compelling them to seek the protection of the trenches. At first Curtis took this to mean that the main attack would come directly against

his position, but the fact that no further action followed made his experienced soldier's instinct suspect that the move was a feint to draw attention from his right, or southern, flank, and he immediately moved his headquarters back to a point from which he could more easily communicate with his entire line, and at 9 o'clock sent to all the officers along his right wing this message:

"Price making only feeble demonstrations in front of me. Look out for your position. Send scouts toward Independence. Send me reports every thirty minutes."

Curtis' suspicion was exactly correct, for it was Price's intention simply to hold the attention of Curtis' left till he could break through or slip around the right flank. Price was too old a soldier to risk being caught in a trap on the bank of the Missouri, and he knew well that his only hope lay in keeping to the open country to the south. Yet so firmly fixed was his confidence in his ability to break through or escape the preparations made to check him that early in the morning of this very day he sent a taunting message into Kansas City, directed to the officers at Fort Leavenworth and assuring them that he would take supper in the Fort on the evening of the next day.

Soon the right wing of Curtis' line began to learn the correctness of their commander's apprehension. The scouts sent out in accordance with his instructions began to return with reports that Price was moving on a line southwest from Independence. Presently the officers and men of the Kansas regiments along the right of the line could see the mounted skirmishers of the enemy approaching through the trees of the rolling country opposite them across the Blue. The howitzers of Jenni-

son's, Moonlight's and Blair's brigades opened upon them, and the line of the Big Blue thundered steadily as the little field-guns sent their canister at the foe. The guns of Shelby's division, which formed Price's van here as usual, opened in reply, while just to the southward of their position the Confederate cavalry dismounted and crept toward the river, slipping from tree to tree and from cover to cover to reach the Federal trenches with their musketry and carbine-fire. Little by little they pressed forward in increasing numbers in the face of the Kansans' fire, working always toward the south in the hope of turning Curtis' flank and finding a chance to cross the river. The Federal loss was not great, for the men were largely protected by their earth-works, and the Confederates, though necessarily suffering more for lack of such shelter, were yet so concealed among the trees that much of the fire directed at them was random and ineffective. Morning passed, noon came, and the afternoon was under way and the firing continued steadily across the narrow, deep and muddy channel of the stream.

On Price's side the conduct of his force during the morning was along two lines. The first was the steady forward movement of his fighting-force until the two leading divisions (Shelby's and Fagan's) were massed against the river. The second was his bringing up his immense wagon-train from the rear to the middle of his army, a move designed to keep it from capture by Pleasanton's pursuing troops, who were now uncomfortably close behind. It is true that the fighting between these two Federal armies on the one side and the one Confederate on the other was less aggressive and well-organized

than among the better disciplined and more experienced armies of the eastern campaigns, but it is also true that few actions of the Civil War were more stubbornly fought in proportion to the numbers engaged than were these actions along the Big Blue River. More than one officer of experience has commented particularly on the persistent and tenacious nature of this assault by Price's mounted and dismounted cavalrymen against the numerically superior Federal force entrenched on the opposite side of the stream whose natural situation made it difficult to cross without hindrance. All military authorities, of course, agree that an entrenched force has an almost infinite advantage over an exposed and assaulting body, and when that advantage is increased by a steep-banked stream fordable in but few places, it is evident that the attacking force must possess great bravery and determination to even face such a superior position. Yet this is exactly what Price's irregular cavalrymen did—more than that, as we shall presently see, they succeeded in forcing a crossing in the very face of this resistance to their advance. Curtis had added to his position still another defence than those afforded by the stream and the trenches, for, as we have seen mentioned, on the day before, Colonel Blair's brigade had choked the deep channel of the stream at many points with felled trees, forming an abatis through which a way could only be forced by much delay and the use of axes. True, Price had small choice but to press his attack with vigor, for as the day wore on Pleasanton's pursuit grew nearer and nearer, until the Confederate army was hemmed in on the north by the impassable Missouri, on the west by the

Federal line along the Big Blue, and on the east by Pleasanton's vigorous advance.

Shortly before noon the situation became yet more acute for the Confederates. Marmaduke's division formed their rear-guard, and his men were practically backing through their Independence, their backs toward the army whose rear they were protecting, their faces and their firing-line toward Pleasanton's aggressive pursuit. Some of them remained in the saddle and galloped hither and thither through the streets of Independence to check now this now that detachment of their pursuers; others dismounted, sending their horses on ahead (westward), and, seizing such shelter as the streets, houses, gardens and lanes of the town offered, gave way as slowly as possible, maintaining a vigorous fire in the face of their pursuers.

Pleasanton determined to break down this resistance to his advance. About the middle of the afternoon he sent forward orders to Brigadier-Generals Sanborn and McNeil, who were conducting the advance, directing them to charge and break the lines of Confederates who were so successfully holding them in check. This meant a charge directly into and through the town of Independence and in the face of mounted and dismounted cavalry-fire and against artillery that was well sheltered among the buildings and structures of the town. McNeil elected to make his charge with his brigade in the saddle and using their sabers, Sanborn to make his with his men dismounted and using their carbines. The two charges were made simultaneously, at almost exactly 3 o'clock, starting from points just outside the eastern limits of the town, Sanborn's brigade attacking on the Federal right (the

north) and McNeil's on the left (the south). The van of McNeil's charge was formed by the Thirteenth Missouri Veteran Volunteer Cavalry, supported by another already famous veteran regiment, the Seventh Kansas Cavalry, at this time under Major F. M. Malone. This last was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable bodies of troops enlisted during the entire war, composed as it was of six companies enlisted in Kansas, three brought from Illinois, and one from Ohio. Alike among friends and foes, this regiment had a reputation as fighters, and the temper of some of its men may be inferred from the fact that the Ohio company was under the leadership of John Brown, Jr., who was accustomed at each nightfall to gather his men around him and make them a fierce harangue, ending with the question: "Do you solemnly swear to avenge the death of John Brown?" to which the entire company would shout in answer, "We do!" D. R. Anthony was long the colonel of the regiment, and the name of W. F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill," was on its roll, his first fame as a scout having been won while serving with this regiment. The men were equipped with Colt's revolving rifles and Spencer repeating carbines, the most notable and effective weapons in use in the war. This was the regiment that bore throughout its career the nickname of "Jayhawkers," a title to which to-day the whole State lays claim.

Without firing a shot McNeil's men charged into the town and broke through streets, yards and gardens in pursuit of the scattering Confederates, charging, forming and charging again upon squads of Marmaduke's men as they fled to the westward, and capturing two of their

guns. Sanborn's dismounted brigade marched to their charge at the double-quick, the Second Arkansas Cavalry, Colonel John E. Phelps commanding, being in the lead in the charge. Halting to fire one great volley ahead of them as they reached the easternmost houses of the settlement, they hurried forward at will, their lines necessarily broken by the obstructions of streets and buildings, loading and firing as fast as their carbines would permit, keeping steady sheets of lead whizzing through the unfortunate village and striving to shoot down any Confederate whom they could discern through the great clouds of smoke that drifted and rose through the streets and among the trees of private lawns. And if feminine sentiment had been displayed in bitter hostility to the Federal cause in the town the evening before, it was manifested by other women on the opposite side at this time, for during the entire battle in the very streets of Independence two ladies stood on the upper floor of a two-story porch or "gallery," as it is called in the South, of a house one block south of the town square, and waved their handkerchiefs by way of encouragement to the Federal troops, with whom their sympathies obviously lay.

The Confederate irregular cavalry regiments resisted there fierce charges through the very center of the town with the utmost bravery—indeed, surprisingly, in view of the double attack and the greater number of the Federals—and General Marmaduke and General Cabell (who, though regularly attached to Fagan's division, was assisting Marmaduke in this rear-guard action) kept so near the Federal charging-line that when at last they had to

put spurs to their horses to escape capture, General Cabell was compelled to leap his horse over a piece of ordnance that lay in his way, and chanced to drop his sword and had no time to recover it, and it was secured by one of McNeil's cavalrymen. A member of Cabell's personal staff, accompanying him, was less fortunate, being headed off by a squad of McNeil's troopers and captured. A two-gun battery of Confederate artillery was worked against Sanborn's dismounted and charging lines until they were so near that when at last the battery-captain gave the order to limber up and retreat at full speed, a blazing volley from the Federals killed or disabled every horse in the gun-teams, compelling the artillerymen to flee on foot and abandon the guns to the enemy. These guns were later found to be the Parrott rifles originally captured from Federal forces at Pleasant Hill, Louisiana, by General "Dick" Taylor. These actions all occurred in the very midst of the town of Independence, beginning at the eastern edge, continuing westward and ending on the western limits of the settlement, where the Federals were halted, the retreating Confederates forming Price's rear-guard finally being seen riding or running off at full speed.

It is difficult to estimate the losses on either side in this fight through the town, for the reason that the surgeons on either side were kept so on the move that they contented themselves with only a roughly-summarized list of the wounded whom they attended. Yet a study of the reports of the officers commanding during the action gives considerable reason to believe that about 25 Federals killed and 75 wounded must be close to the correct figures, while several eye-witnesses counted the Confederate dead

as they lay in the streets and agree that 40 bodies were thus found, the number of the wounded being unknown. Where all the bullets, shot and shell went to is a puzzle, for there is no room for doubt that the firing in every form was incessant. McNeil's brigade, being mounted, suffered the severest loss on the Federal side, but also captured the most prisoners; while Sanborn's men, on foot, suffered less, but were able to capture but few of their opponents.

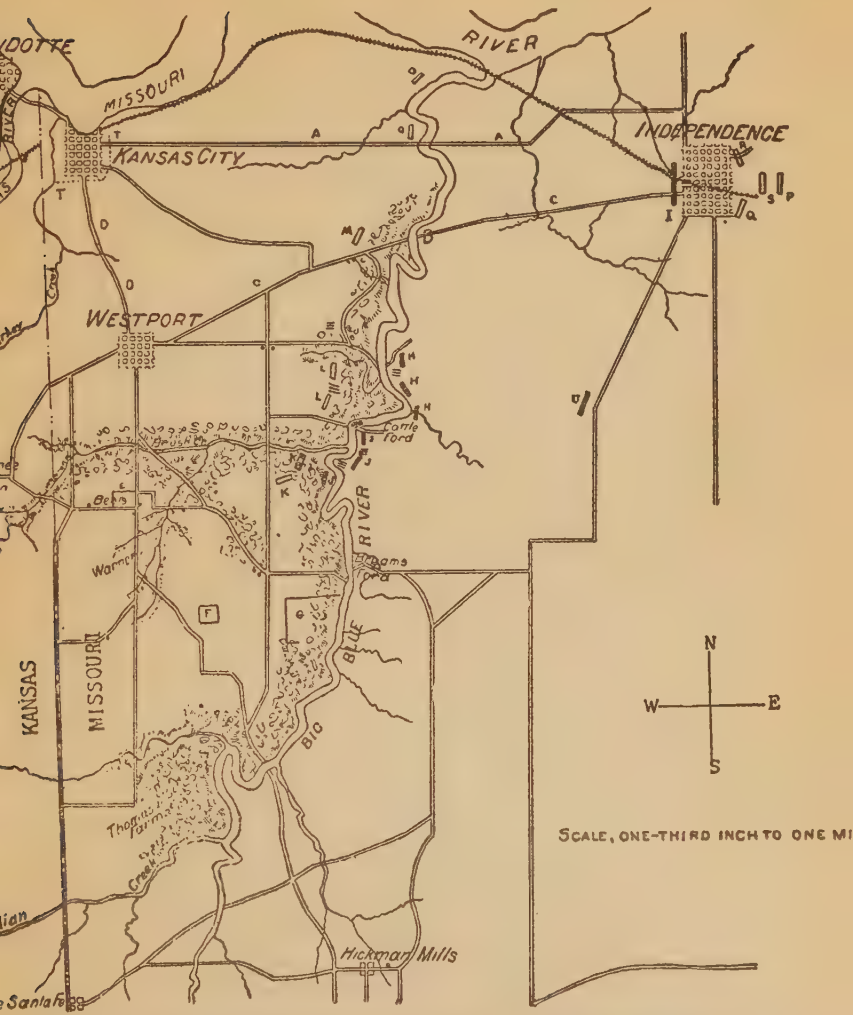
Captain George Todd, a famous young Confederate whose home was in Jackson County, of which Independence is the county-seat, and who had been serving in Cabell's brigade, was killed on the outskirts of Independence in this fight in Cabell's last charge. Known to the Federal sympathizers as "a notorious guerilla," he was held in most opposite esteem by friends of the Confederacy, and had been called by them "a flower of Southern manhood." He had been Quantrill's second in command in the raids on Lawrence and Baxter Springs. Closely pressed by Federal cavalrymen, he put spurs to his horse and was dashing away at full speed, his bridle in his teeth, firing backward over each shoulder with a revolver in each hand, when a Federal bullet pierced his throat.

With this fierce fighting thus driving his rear in upon him, Price had no choice save to make the most desperate effort to break through or get around Curtis' forces in the trenches along the Blue, and in this difficult task his men finally succeeded. Diverting the head of his attack to the extreme right (south) of the Kansas line, he endeavored to beat back from the trenches the defenders of that

point in Curtis' resistance sufficiently to enable one hundred axemen under Captain J. T. Mackey of Captain J. T. Hogane's Engineers' Company (Marmaduke's division) to clear the stream of the Blue from the fallen trees which had been thrown into it, and so make a crossing possible. After an hour and a half of desperate work on the part of these axemen and the dismounted cavalry of Shelby's brigade who were covering them with their fire, a passage-way across the stream was made directly opposite the Thirteenth Kansas Regiment (commonly known as the "Johnson County Regiment") under Colonel A. S. Johnson, being a part of Colonel Jennison's First Brigade. This occurred at almost exactly 5 o'clock in the afternoon. This regiment, composed of wholly new and untrained recruits, gave way and struck out toward Kansas and home at a record-breaking gait, though they presently met an officer of the regular army, Major T. I. McKenny, Inspector-General of Curtis' force, who was seeking information as to how the fight was going, and who promptly drew his revolver and swore that he would kill the first man who took another running step. This checked their speed and they continued their retreat in more decent order.

Having effected this break in Curtis' line, Price threw the full strength of Shelby's and Fagan's brigades through the gap, and soon flanked Jennison's and Moonlight's brigades, forcing the retreat of these also and cutting off completely General M. S. Grant and his militia of the Second and the Twenty-first Kansas regiments who were at Hickman's Mills Crossing, the men of the Second being captured and with them the twenty-four-pounder brass

MAP No. 2. SHOWING POSITION OF FORCES AT 3 TO 4 P. M., OCTOBER 22D.



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cations before Kansas City. U—Wagon-train with Price's army.

howitzer that was the property of the State of Kansas. General Grant made good his escape, as did Colonel G. W. Veale and his men of the Twenty-first.

Jennison's and Moonlight's brigades, though forced from their positions and compelled to retreat westward, yet conducted that movement on a line parallel with Shelby's and Fagan's successful westward progress, Jennison halting before Westport village and Moonlight pushing to Shawneetown, where he secured food for his men and forage for their horses, against the fight on the morrow. A disagreement that arose between the commanders of these brigades on the very field of battle at this time came very near allowing Shelby actually to enter and seize Westport itself. Jennison had been dismissed from the service by Secretary Stanton, but had been re-commissioned by Governor Carney himself. As Shelby's advance toward Westport was well under way, after his successful forcing the crossing of the Big Blue, Jennison ordered Moonlight to advance in coöperation with him and check it. Moonlight refused to recognize Jennison as an officer, on the ground of his dismissal, and accordingly would receive no commands from him, and continued on his way to Shawneetown, where he had determined to rest his brigade over night. This left the head of Shelby's advance toward Westport opposed only by Jennison's men, when Major R. H. Hunt, Curtis' Chief of Artillery, perceived the situation and attacked Shelby with the mounted men of Curtis' escort—Company G of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry—and the two howitzers attached to the staff. In later years General Shelby himself always affirmed that this attack of Major Hunt's

kept him from seizing the town of Westport at this time, the evening of Saturday, the 22d. Jennison's men took position before Westport and continued the fight until a late hour, one company of artillery firing uninterruptedly with their particular and much-beloved new brass twelve-pounder howitzer until its incessant reports attracted the attention of Brigadier-General Shelby himself. He called to Colonel Sidney D. Jackman, commanding Jackman's brigade of his division, and to Colonel F. B. Gordon of Gordon's Missouri Cavalry, and said: "Jackman, do you hear that gun? I 'm tired of its d——d noise. Go over there and take it!" Immediately these two officers gathered portions of their commands and made a flank movement, concealed by a convenient corn-field, and suddenly charged out upon the busy gunners and captured them and their gun. With them were taken two Kansas artillery flags, seized by Captain A. C. McCoy and Captain Carroll Wood of the Fifth Missouri Cavalry, and these officers promptly hunted up General Price on the field and presented him with these trophies. This Captain McCoy was among the most daring of the Confederate officers, being especially mentioned in not less than six reports by Price and Shelby.

All these unexpected breaks and changes on the part of the forces composing his right wing at the Big Blue left General Curtis no alternative save to order the best possible retreat, and as the evening twilight came on he ordered his entire army to fall back clear to the trenches before Kansas City and Westport. This evacuated the line of works along the west bank of the disputed stream and permitted Price to ford it at all points and to place Mar-

maduke's division as a rear-guard in the very defences which Curtis had occupied during the day. At the same time Price's van, as we have seen, was already in the country before Westport, west of the Big Blue and south of Brush Creek (see map), where it encamped for the night. Simultaneously with these movements Price ordered his great wagon-train to set off as fast as possible southward, under escort of Brigadier-General W. L. Cabell and Colonel John Q. Burbridge, the latter with his Fourth Missouri Cavalry, the hope being to protect it from Federal capture and to have it rejoin Price when he should have passed the obstacles immediately in his front.

On the part of Pleasanton's pursuing force, as night came on he moved through Independence and practically filled on the country between that town and the Big Blue, ready to begin the attack on Price's rear anew with the coming day. So closed Saturday, October 22d, 1864.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BATTLE OF WESTPORT.—FROM DAWN TO EIGHT O'CLOCK.

BEFORE entering upon the description of the battle itself, certain moves made and orders given during the ensuing night must be noted, in view of their bearing upon the tactics and actions of the coming day.

As we have seen, General Curtis ordered the majority of his weary Kansans to shelter entirely within the defence-lines that had been thrown up about the then little Kansas City. The exceptions to this order were the brigades of Jennison and Moonlight, the one having kept on Shelby's right flank till dark and then encamping in and around the village of Westport, the other spending the night close to Shawneetown. During the night the scouting and picket-work before the the trenches surrounding Kansas City was done by the Home Guards, the improvised force of citizens under Colonel Kersey Coates, in order that the Kansans might get as much res as possible before the next day's conflict. Loyal women baked bread and other provisions all night long and bestowed them upon the worn and half-famished militiamen, while others welcomed officers and men alike to their tables and fed them by relays as long as the night and the food lasted. Ammunition-wagons moved through the lines all night and a special train was sent

out to Jennison's force, that every soldier might have all the paper musket-cartridges he could carry for use in the coming fight.

South of the earthworks about Kansas City all the pasture, corn-fields, timber-lands and farms, intersected chiefly by three country roads. These were the present Twelfth Street, leading eastward toward Independence; the Troost Avenue of the present, then extending through the country southward to Brush Creek and beyond; the third the present Westport road that zig-zags through the bluffs up from the Southwest Boulevard to the Westport district. Along the last two it was that Curtis' army moved out to the battle-field early in the morning of the 23d.

Out in Pleasanton's lines, as they filled the country between Independence and the Big Blue, that General was making his plans for a final crushing assault on Price's rear. One of his brigades had had but little fighting up to this time—or so Pleasanton felt—having acted largely as a rear-guard, and this he determined should bear the brunt of the assault upon the Confederates at the stream. This was the first Brigade, Brigadier-General Egbert B. Brown commanding. After McNeil's and Sanborn's brigades had carried the town of Independence, as described, Pleasanton threw his Fourth Brigade to the fore, under Colonel E. F. Winslow of the Fourth Iowa Cavalry, and had it drive Price as hard as possible up till midnight. This it did, fighting and firing for hours after dark in order to disturb the Confederates to the utmost, in which hope they succeeded, to judge by the later comments of Brigadier-General John B. Clark

of Marmaduke's escort, who was accordingly in the trenches opposite this nocturnal display, and whose subsequent report on the fighting of these days says:

"Notwithstanding the almost impenetrable darkness of the night, they rushed upon us with a reckless fierceness that I have never seen equaled, giving us warning of a confidence reposed in the efficiency and number of their troops in case we were pressed to a general attack."

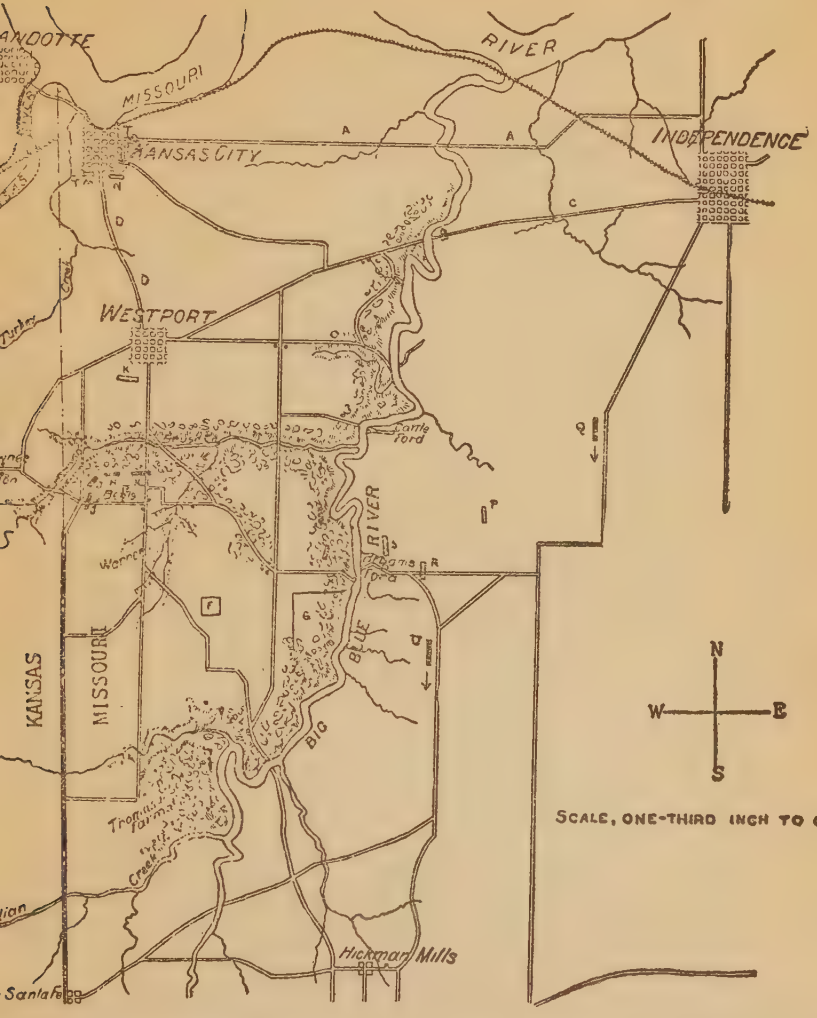
At midnight this brigade finally ceased action and encamped, being the nearest of all Pleasanton's forces to the trenches along the Big Blue in which Marmaduke and his rear-guard now lay. Between midnight and dawn Pleasanton sent orders to Brigadier-General E. B. Brown to move up with his brigade and Thurber's Battery H of the Second Missouri Light Artillery, with its 3-inch Rodman rifled field-pieces, and thus be ready at the first approach of light to pass Winslow, relieve him, and attack the enemy at the river with all possible vigor. The order to this effect was couched in exceedingly pointed language, saying:

"As your command has as yet done no fighting, the General expects you to push them vigorously to-day. The Major-General commanding . . will accept of no excuse for the non-fulfillment of this duty, but will hold you responsible."

Unfortunately for General Brown he did not take the hint thus plainly given by his superior officer, and before the sun had risen he had experienced the bitterest mortification possible to a soldier.

With this review of the events leading up to the Battle of Westport, and of the preparations made on the eve of

Map No. 3. Showing Position of Forces during night of October 22d–23d.



simile of map made in 1864 by Lieutenant Geo. T. Robinson, to accompany Major General S. R. Cu
official report to the United States War Department on the Battle of Westport.

A, A—Old Independence Road. B—Fifteenth Street crossing of the Big Blue River. C, C—Old
e Santa Fe Trail. D, D—Old Westport Road. E—Country Club grounds. F—Forest Hill Cemet
swope Park. H—Price's army, Fagan's division. I—Price's army, Marmaduke's brigade.
's army, Shelby's division. K—Curtis' army, Jennison's brigade. L—Curtis' army, Moonlig
ade. M—Curtis' army, Blair's brigade. N—Curtis' army, Ford's brigade. O—Curtis' army, tr
r Deitzler. P—Pleasanton's army, Brown's (Phillips') brigade. Q—Pleasanton's army, McN
de. R—Pleasanton's army, Sanborn's brigade. S—Pleasanton's army, Winslow's brigade. T,
fications before Kansas City. U—Wagon-train with Price's army.

its occurrence, we shall now consider the events of the battle itself, describing them by dividing the day into such periods as embraced the chief actions on either side and in the various portions of that great field over which the fighting spread.

From 3 a. m. till dawn.

At 3 o'clock in the morning General Curtis sent word from Kansas to Colonel Jennison, ordering him to move immediately southward with his command so as to reach the enemy in the vicinity of Brush Creek, just south of Westport, by earliest daylight, and at once to engage the enemy whom he would find there. In pursuance of this order Jennison's brigade moved through Westport village and to a point near where the present Wornall Road crosses the stream. Ford's brigade, which had spent the night on the hills near Westport, the men never taking the saddles from their horses, was to move forward on the left of Jennison's—*i. e.*, between Westport and the point where Troost Avenue crosses Brush Creek to-day—and with it McLain's battery was to go into action, these guns having been taken into the defences about Kansas City during the night, but being back at Westport before dawn. The Twelfth Kansas State Militia was also to co-operate with these forces, Colonel L. S. Treat being in command. Colonel Moonlight and his Second Brigade, at Shawneetown, received orders to go into action on the right of the Federal line south of Westport—*i. e.*, on a position nearly parallel with the State Line—and thus to hold Price back from any attempt to escape into Kansas. Generals Blunt, Deitzler, and Blair were to march with their

commands in time to go into action immediately following Jennison. Colonel Coates was to hold his Home Guards in the trenches about the city until it developed whether they would be needed on the field, and if so, where. General Curtis himself would remain in the city until he should hear how the first fighting went, when he would go at once to whatever point needed his personal presence most.

At midnight Pleasanton ordered McNeil to move with his brigade, together with Captain W. C. F. Montgomery's Battery L of the Second Missouri Light Artillery, toward the junction of the Independence and the Little Santa Fé roads, in order to head off the expected attempt at escape of Price's wagon-train, and in obedience to this order the brigade marched all night toward the designated position. At 5 a. m. he ordered Sanborn to advance with his brigade to the assistance of Brigadier-General Brown, who ought to be just beginning his emphatically-ordered assault on the Confederate trenches at the Big Blue. At 6 o'clock, to Pleasanton's horror, he received a message sent back from Colonel Winslow, whom Brown was to have relieved, asking where Brown and the relieving-force were. Pleasanton immediately mounted, summoned his staff, and galloped at full speed to the extreme forward line of his army, where he found Winslow's men still facing the enemy across the river and waiting to be allowed to fall back. The brigade of Brown was nowhere to be seen, and finally Pleasanton found it still encamped in Winslow's rear, with no sign of any activity on Brown's part. Pleasanton found Brown himself standing near a number of other officers who were making

various preparations for entering with their commands the fight which was already vigorously under way in the woods along the Big Blue immediately in their front. Pleasanton checked his horse before General Brown and, shaking in Brown's face the cowhide whip which he always carried when in the saddle, denounced him furiously for his inaction in view of the express orders he had received during the night. Brown replied that Winslow had made no room for his men to pass forward as directed. Pleasanton instantly ordered Brown to the rear under arrest, and with him Colonel James McFerran of the First Missouri Cavalry of Brown's brigade, saying as he did so that they were "ambulance-soldiers" and that the rear was where they belonged. He then demanded of the officers standing by: "Who is next in command here?" One of them replied: "Colonel Phillips is." "Where is he?" demanded Pleasanton. "Here I am, General," answered Phillips, who at the moment was sitting on the ground, changing his heavy cavalry-boots for a pair of lighter shoes, the better to lead on foot his men of the Seventh Missouri Cavalry, whom he had dismounted and sent into the timber in front to enter the fight, placing them under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel T. T. Crittenden until he himself should overtake them. "Well, what are you doing down there?" said Pleasanton, looking down at him. Phillips answered: "I am getting ready to push my men into that fight down there, where they have already gone." "Well, I see that the men of your regiment want a fight, and they shall have it," said Pleasanton. "You take charge of this entire brigade and go down there and put those people

out!"—meaning, of course, the Confederates under Marmaduke along the west bank of the stream in the timber before them. Colonel Phillips (now Judge John F. Phillips of the United States Court at Kansas City) immediately remounted, placed Lieutenant-Colonel Crittenden (later Governor of Missouri, 1881–1885) in entire charge of the Seventh Regiment, ordered Lieutenant-Colonel B. F. Lazear to take McFerran's place in command of the First, and prepared to lead Brown's brigade into action. General Brown, save for some protesting reports to Rosecrans, Halleck, and the army authorities at Washington, and a subsequent acquittal by a court-martial, passed out of the history of his country.*

*While the immediately foregoing statements are in exact accordance with the events described, and will be found to correspond exactly with the official reports, it is but fair to the memory of General Brown to add, even at this late date, that there were two sides to the story. Officers of high rank and unimpeachable integrity personally vouch for it that General Pleasanton's attitude toward many of his subordinates during this campaign, and especially in these actions, was one of needlessly harsh and acrimonious criticism. Fresh from the fierce conflicts of the far more experienced and better organized armies of the East, he showed plainly that his opinion of the fighting-spirit of the Western volunteers and militia was low indeed. Not only did he treat General Brown as described, refusing to receive any explanation whatever from Brown himself, but he bitterly censured Brigadier-General McNeil, whose brigade did such superior work in the battle at Independence; denounced Curtis and his men and arrested some of the Kansas officers on the field, in spite of the fact that they were not under him; and refused to allow any of the Kansas troops to act as escort for the prisoners taken in the engagement. It is undeniably true that Brown's dilatoriness greatly interfered with the completeness of the Federal victory; that McNeil was deceived—as we shall presently see—by a clever trick on the part of Cabell and the escort accompanying Price's wagon-train; and that the raw recruits under Curtis displayed a marked agility in making for the rear on more than one occasion. But it is also true that a man of a less bitter spirit that Pleasanton would not have acted toward the men and the officers under him as he acted.

It was fully 8 o'clock before Phillips could move Brown's brigade forward and lead it against the Big Blue, and the time that had elapsed allowed Marmaduke's division so to prepare for the attack against it that it is probable that this delay alone was sufficient to prevent Price from being crushed, as well as defeated, on the field of Westport.

From dawn to eight o'clock.

By the time that the first rays of light appeared in the east, with promise of a beautiful Sabbath day, clear and cool, the Kansas soldiers under Jennison, Blunt and Deitzler had moved out to the south of Westport village and were making their way through the timber that lined the banks of Brush Creek. At the same hour the brigades under Colonels Ford (on the left) and Moonlight (on the right) had reached the positions assigned them in the orders of the night and were joining in the general move upon the enemy's stand on the open ground south of the woods.

Two points in regard to the field of the Battle of Westport must be noted if the actions of the day are to be correctly placed, and these may be noted by reference to the accompanying maps, fac-similes of one drawn at the time by Lieutenant Robinson of Curtis' engineer corps. To-day the narrow stream of Brush Creek follows the same channel as in 1864, but the timber along its course has been narrowed to a strip of hardly more than a few yards in width in many places. But at the time of the battle all the country on either side the stream was either farm-land or timber, and a heavy growth of tall trees extended on either side the creek-bed, half a mile from the

stream in many places, and it was along the southern side of this strip that the principal actions of the battle occurred, placing the field of the main conflict farther from the stream than would appear at a first survey of the ground to-day. The Fifty-first Street of to-day, from near the Country Club eastward to Troost Avenue, corresponds very nearly to the southern line of the timber as it stood in 1864, and therefore marks the northern edge of the battle on the open ground.

The second marked change in the aspect of the field of Westport since 1864 consists in the fact that the highway known to-day as the Wornall Road was then subordinate in importance to the State Line Road, that ancient route whose obscure, rough and unpaved existence is unknown to-day to many of even the riding, driving and automobiling class of Kansas Cityans. Furthermore the road that to-day forms the southern boundary of the Country Club grounds—Fifty-fifth Street west of the Wornall Road—did not, in 1864, run directly into the State Line Road at right angles, as it does to-day, but reached it by a diagonal, running southwest and northeast, that passed to the south of the old cemetery just west of the Ward Farm. Of this old bit of road the remains are distinctly visible to-day, and they mark almost exactly the spot where Moonlight's brigade, coming from Shawneetown on the morning of the 23d, went into action against the Confederates whom they found on the open ground before them. (See the maps and photographs.)

On the Confederate side, Price had drawn up his army in a long line that practically extended from Westport,

his van, to the Big Blue, his rear. Beginning before Westport, the first third of this line of battle was formed by Shelby's division, concentrated at this point. Next to the eastward came Fagan's division, extending toward Troost Avenue and beyond. The easternmost and rear third of the line was formed by Marmaduke's strong force before Pleasanton, at the Byram's Ford of the Big Blue, and occupying the trenches from which the Kansans under Curtis had been driven at the close of the afternoon before.

As the sun rose clear, the Kansans under Jennison, Blunt, Ford, and Deitzler marched boldly into the timber south of Brush Creek, when they immediately came into contact with Shelby's ever-ready troopers, who, charging to the accompaniment of the famous "rebel yell," vigorously rushed them back through the woods and to the north side of the creek again, where they re-formed in line on the hill north of the creek and contented themselves for the time with artillery-firing from that point. Shelby's charging horsemen established themselves in the woods on the edge of the bluffs south of the creek, and the immediately subsequent actions consisted chiefly of an exchange of fire from howitzers and field-guns, many of the shells from the Confederate guns passing over the Kansans' position and falling in the streets of the village of Westport, one in particular exploding in Shawnee Street, just north of the old Harris House.

A particularly daring detachment of Shelby's brigade made an attempt to descend the bluffs along the creek, thinking to cross the stream and make a dash upon the left wing of the Kansans' line on the opposite hill, but

the move was detected and two regiments of Kansas militia charged into the creek-bed and with several steady volleys drove the daring Confederates back. The little action is notable in that the move of this handful of Shelby's men represents practically the high-tide mark of Price's entire invasion—not that it was the most northern point reached, for the taking of Glasgow, in Howard County, was the most northern move made during the campaign—but it was the last aggressive advance made by any of Price's men in the line of his original goals of Kansas City and Fort Leavenworth. The two Kansas regiments that repulsed this attack were the Fifth Kansas State Militia under Colonel G. A. Colton and the Nineteenth Kansas, led at this time by Colonel A. C. Hogan (so reported by General Blunt), though this officer commanded the Fourth Kansas at other times and is named as its Colonel. This Nineteenth Regiment was one of the latest accessions to Curtis' forces, having reached Kansas City only on the 21st, and having been assigned to the Third Brigade by order of General G. W. Deitzler.

A second charge of the entire Kansas line was made in an attempt to re-take the bluffs and timber on the south side of the creek, but Shelby's men had a strong position there (on either side the point where the Wornall Road south of Westport winds up the long, steep hill south of the creek) and the attack was at a great disadvantage, the Kansans "coming tumbling back," as an eye-witness described it, almost as soon as the attempt was made. Major-General Deitzler tried to force the howitzer batteries of the Kansas troops across the stream and through

PLATE I.

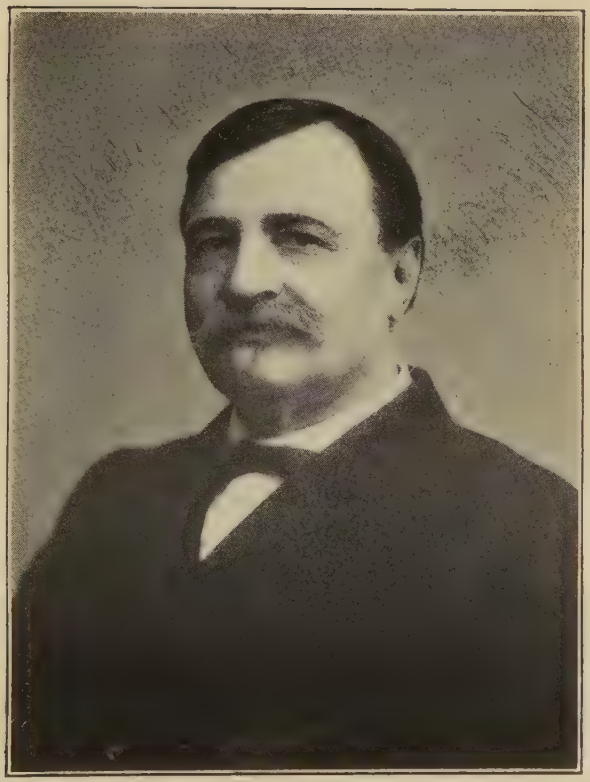
Old hotel, the "Harris House," in Westport. Used by Major-General S. R. Curtis as a field headquarters from 7:30 to 10:30 a. m. on October 23d.

the opposite timber, but the woods were so thick, the slope so steep, and the resistance to this move so sharp, that General Blunt and he sent word to General Curtis, in Kansas City, that they could not take the hills under the existing circumstances.

Curtis galloped at full speed to the village of Westport, reaching there at half-past 7 o'clock and immediately selecting the old hotel, the Harris House, as his headquarters. Hurrying up to its roof he surveyed the field of battle and the actions that had already occurred were pointed out to him. A young Kansas politician named Plumb, later the well-known Senator Plumb of Kansas, was with Curtis at this time as a volunteer aide. Another aide was Mr. J. L. Norman, now (1906) President of the Board of Education of Kansas City. From the roof of the hotel Curtis could see the fighting south of Westport plainly indicated by the smoke that rose from the brigades of Blunt, Blair, Deitzler, Ford and Jennison, with that of Moonlight farther to the west (the right wing), all of whom were engaged with Shelby's and Fagan's divisions of Confederates. The indications were plain that the Kansans were being held in check completely at the time, and such was the case, for from 6 to 8 o'clock the Federal forces along the creek and before Westport were met with very general and repeated repulses and were compelled to retire from each attack. For nearly an hour Curtis allowed the battle to continue in this position, several attempts being made to force the Confederates back from the hills immediately south of the creek, but without success save on the part of Ford's brigade, which finally managed to establish itself in the edge of the

timber on the south of the creek. Moonlight's brigade, on the Kansans' right, also managed to gain ground against Shelby's men during this time, due largely to the fact that his position was one which partially flanked the Confederates against him.

Before taking up the next move in this part of the field, however, it must be seen what had been going on during these hours in the neighborhood of the Big Blue, where Price's rear under Marmaduke was endeavoring to beat back Pleasanton's pursuit—if pursuit that may be called, which had become a wide and fierce charge across a stream and against an entrenched foe. What Pleasanton was now trying to do was exactly what Price had had to try the day before, and had eventually succeeded in accomplishing, as we have seen. Good use had been made by the Confederates of the delay afforded by Brown's tardiness, and of the eight heavy rifled Parrott cannon with Price's artillery (two of which had been captured from Marmaduke's men in Independence the afternoon before), three had been sent forward to be used in Shelby's fight before Westport, while the remaining three had been placed so as to sweep the roads, fords and country at and beyond the Big Blue. It was against these that Pleasanton's advance moved, the First Brigade now under Colonel Phillips, the Third under Brigadier-General Sanborn, and the Fourth under Colonel Winslow. Several vain attempts were made by these forces to force the crossing of the stream. At many points along the river the timber was so thick that cavalry could only be advanced, if mounted, in columns of fours along the roads, and one such charge upon the entrenchments of Marma-



J. L. Norman.
Volunteer aide on staff of General S. R. Curtis.

PLATE II.

View from the roof of the old hotel, the "Harris House," looking southwest toward Brush Creek and the high ground beyond, the field of fighting between Curtis' army and Shelby's and Fagan's divisions of Price's army in the early morning of the 23d. It was from this point that Major-General Curtis watched the progress of the battle up to the hour of personally leading the successful charge of his forces upon the left (west) flank of Price's lines.

duke's men proved fearfully costly in killed and wounded. Indeed, the roads that crossed the Big Blue toward Marmaduke's cannon were strewn—one eye-witness says "piled"—with dead horses and men. The only thing that could avail was to dismount the entire three brigades and charge the stream on foot, and at Colonel Phillips' orders this was done. It was costly work, for every officer who participated reports that "the fighting was the fiercest possible at this point," or words to the same effect. Several hundred men fell in this action. The actual manner of crossing and its accomplishment must come under the next period of the day's fighting-time.

It may be mentioned at this point, however, that McNeil's midnight march with his brigade and Montgomery's battery of the Second Missouri Light Artillery to demonstrate against and if possible capture Price's wagon-train, came to naught. McNeil came in sight of the train when some two or three miles south of the main attack on Marmaduke at the river, and saw the hundreds of wagons making off southward and apparently under heavy escort, accompanied by thousands of horsemen. Some of this surprisingly numerous escort were indeed a fighting-force—the guard under General Cabell and Colonel Burbridge which Price had sent with the train—but by far the greater number were the thousand or more unarmed men (Price says, "several thousand") who had gathered to Price's army and had been assigned to the duties of the wagon-train. Seeing McNeil's threatening advance toward them when it was still some two miles or more on their left, and thus north of them, and seeing that that advance halted on discovering them, it occurred

to the Confederate officers with the train that possibly the attack could be averted by a further display of their apparent strength. At General Cabell's orders the wagons were rushed ahead, the howitzers of his brigade were put into action, the mounted men were drawn up in line of battle, the unarmed horsemen were marched and countermarched and finally thrown out to right and left in a seemingly overpowering array, on which McNeil later reported, in all innocence as to the true nature of this force, that it far out-flanked him on both wings. In addition to this display, the long, dry grass of the prairie was set on fire, and the wind drove the smoke and flame directly toward the pursuers, while the Confederates kept up a brisk fire through this screen. The ruse produced a most successful impression on McNeil, and his brigade kept its distance throughout the entire day, never coming to closer quarters, and the train made good its escape, for that day and the next at least. In his reports to Rosecrans, General Pleasanton urged that action be taken against McNeil for his hesitation to attack this apparently great force, and he was later tried by court-martial at St. Louis and suspended for three months, but his appeal to the Judge-Advocate was sustained, and he was restored to rank and duty.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BATTLE OF WESTPORT.—FROM EIGHT O'CLOCK TO NOON.

BETWEEN 9:30 and 10 o'clock General Curtis sent orders along his entire line of Kansans saying that he would now personally take the front and lead a general advance, and that he would expect every regiment to move forward to close quarters with the enemy. The order was promptly responded to, and on the extreme right and left wings of the line the brigades of Moonlight and Ford were successful in forcing back their own opponents of Shelby's and Fagan's divisions, driving them out of the timber on the south of the creek and forcing them to seek the welcome protection of a great number of stone fences that bordered the fields of the open country, and which they promptly used as improvised breastworks.

On Curtis' own first attempt to go forward before Westport he was not as successful. He attempted to lead the men under Jennison, Blunt and Deitzler, together with some of the artillery, up the hill as they had tried to go before. Major R. H. Hunt, Chief of Curtis' artillery, was with him in this attempt and the artillery consisted of the Ninth Wisconsin Battery and the two mountain howitzers regularly attached to Curtis' staff and commanded by a vigorous little Welsh artillery officer, Lieutenant Edward Gill, well known in later years

as Rev. Edward Gill, long Presiding Elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Manhattan, Kansas. Again the steepness of the bluffs and the steady fire of Shelby's men on the crest prevented success. Then occurred a most interesting event. A very old and feeble man, a resident of a little farm in the vicinity, made his way with tottering steps toward where General Curtis was reforming his repulsed troops, and begged a moment's hearing. "This aged Missouri patriot," as General Curtis' report calls him, undaunted by the sights and sounds of conflict, himself unarmed and supporting his age with great difficulty, had correctly grasped the situation and its only remedy. He explained to General Curtis that he knew where there was a gap or slope in the rocky ridge on the south of the creek, that had proved so unimpregnable, and would point it out. Curtis at once bade him lead the way, and the old man conducted the officers and their following troops to a much more gentle acclivity, some few hundred yards west of where the Wornall Road now crosses Brush Creek, up the ravine to the westward of the present bridge over the stream. This was not only easy of ascent, but it was also close to the west end of Shelby's line and offered opportunity for a flanking movement, and through this gap and up the slope poured Curtis' now dismounted cavalry and their artillery. General Curtis begged the old patriot to mount a horse and accompany him and his staff throughout the day, as a mark of gratitude for the really very great service that he had done them, but—to quote General Curtis' later description of the event—"the weary veteran refused to ride, but sunk down with delight and exhaustion when

he saw the success of our guns . . . the rebellion vanishing before him, and his home and country free." (Mr. Joseph L. Norman, before mentioned, was riding at General Curtis' side during the whole of this incident, and he wrote the account of it which Curtis later turned in as part of his report.)

On thus reaching the more open timber south of the creek and on the edge of the level prairie, General Curtis immediately opened on the enemy before him with the guns of Colonel J. H. Dodge's Ninth Wisconsin Battery from Fort Riley, McLain's battery, and the several small howitzers under Major R. H. Hunt, resulting immediately in shaking the firmness of Shelby's men and driving them still farther out upon the prairie. With the opening of the artillery fire, the Kansans under Blunt, Deitzler and Jennison emerged from the timber, coming out upon the open ground near the spot where the Country Club House stands to-day. In this immediate vicinity every man and every gun was put into aggressive action, and the firing became steady from west of the Country Club east nearly or quite to the present Troost Avenue. Once gaining the ground south of the creek and the timber, many of the Kansans displayed a spirit in favorable contrast to their late retreats before Shelby's attacks. Many of them now moved forward eagerly, slipping from tree to tree, and from one fence to another, watching their opportunities and shooting like hunters as they caught a favorable opportunity for a chance at one of the foe. This stage of the battle was reached at almost exactly 11 o'clock.

When the Federal advance over the present Country Club grounds and the adjoining Ward Farm began, the right flank of the advancing line was severely treated by a number of Confederate sharp-shooters and riflemen, who had posted themselves in and among brick buildings of the farm. General Blunt directed Colonel Blair to attack the place, and with the Nineteenth Kansas, dismounted, he drove the sharp-shooters out with severe loss. This particular action may be regarded as the point of successfully turning Price's left flank, the west end of Shelby's leading division.

At almost the exact time that General Curtis and the batteries had reached the open ground south of the creek, there had been some very desperate and hand-to-hand fighting east of the Wornall Road and toward Troost Avenue. Ford's brigade, which had been the first to gain a foot-hold on the ground south of the stream, had met with strong resistance from the Confederates sheltered behind the stone fences mentioned. Similar fighting now began in the vicinity of the present Country Club grounds as the two armies closed with one another. The Confederate officers saw at once that the success of the Federal movements at these points was fraught with utmost danger to their position and bent every attempt to check it. The three Parrott guns which have been mentioned as forwarded from the Big Blue earlier in the day had just arrived, and were at once planted a few hundred yards southeast of the Country Club grounds and directed a hot fire upon the Federals. Jennison immediately placed McLain's battery in the road at a point not far from the present Club House and began a vigorous

PLATE III.

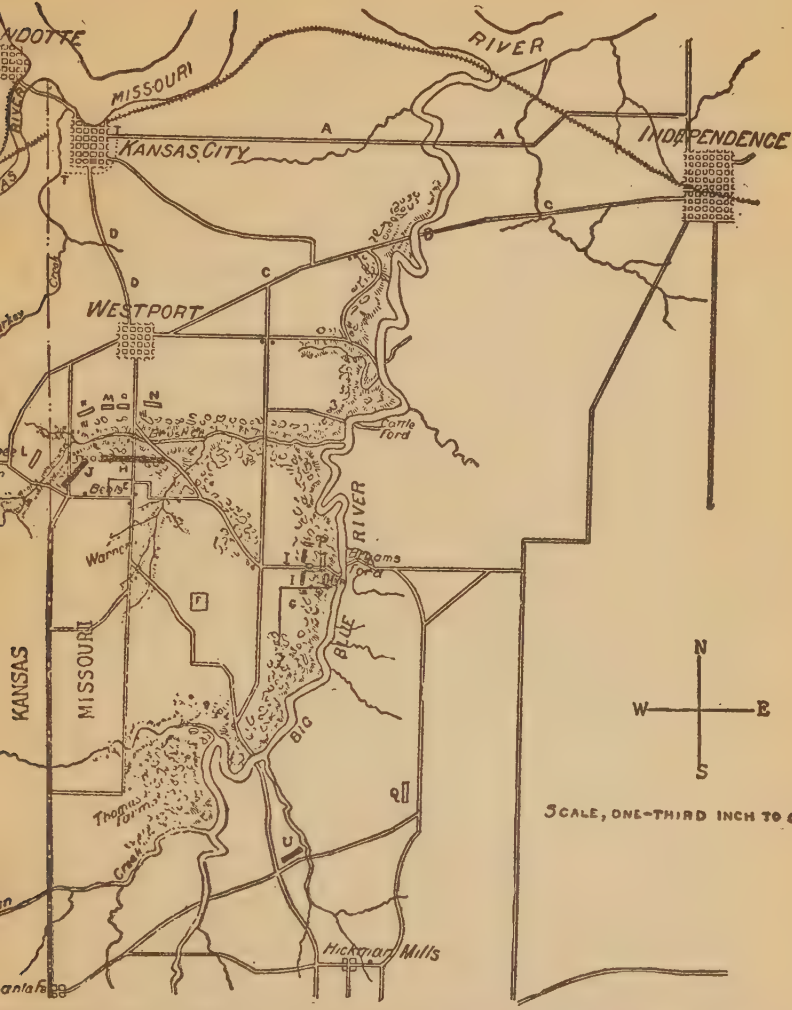
Part of the field of conflict between Curtis' army and Shelby's and Fagan's divisions of Price's army, on the high ground south of Brush Creek. The picture is taken from the present Country Club, where Curtis' artillery was placed immediately after gaining the high ground, and the view is in the line of fire of these guns. The duel between Colonel J. H. McGhee and Captain Curtis Johnson, described in the text, took place on the slope beyond the pond shown in the picture.

reply. At once McGhee's regiment of Arkansas cavalry charged in column against these guns, their Colonel at their head. Jennison shouted to Captain Curtis Johnson of Company E, Fifteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and these two officers led this company and two squadrons of the Second Colorado Cavalry, under Captain Green, in a desperate counter-charge upon the approaching Confederates. The two masses of horsemen met at full speed and a short but fierce fight followed, ranging from the old Wornall House to the present lake on the Country Club grounds, in which the Kansans lost 15 men. As the two forces came together, Captain Johnson singled out the leader of the Confederates and dashed at him for a personal encounter. Both drew their revolvers, preferring them to the saber, and a duel between them took place in the very midst of the mélée of plunging horses and clashing sabers, cracking pistols and shouting men. McGhee fired first, shooting Johnson in the left arm and inflicting a severe and painful wound and one that disabled him for many weeks to come. But on receiving the wound Johnson spurred his horse still closer and with his Colt revolver shot McGhee through the heart, dropping him dead from his horse upon the field. (This Captain Curtis Johnson seems to have been a man as modest as fearless, for he was subsequently highly mentioned in the reports of not less than six officers, himself making no mention of this occurrence.) The fall of their Colonel disheartened the Confederate column and they broke and fled, leaving nearly 100 of their number enclosed in the Kansans' line as prisoner. Twenty-five or more fearfully wounded members of McGhee's regiment

were left in the vicinity of the Wornall House as the charge fell back, the body of their Colonel among them. Dead horses, dropped sabers, blankets, guns, saddles, and the like strewed the ground at the point of this close and deadly encounter. The Confederate Brigadier-General M. Jeff Thompson in his official reports after the battle mentions this charge as one of the events of the day that turned the tide of battle most disastrously against Price and his men. General Blunt witnessed the entire action and at once ordered Jennison to lead a counter-charge. Only one squadron of the Second Colorado was available at the moment, but they drew sabers and, with Jennison at their head, drove home nearly to the battery of Parrott guns. One of these guns, by the way, while firing at this time, was itself struck on the muzzle by a Federal shot and was left disabled on the field when the later retreat occurred. Many who later saw this abandoned piece reported that it had burst, but we shall presently have proof that such was not the case. Jennison halted his line as near the Confederate firing-line as he dared—that line being now steadily though slowly falling back—and sent for reinforcements to come up to him, while upon the retreating enemy whom he had been pursuing the entire artillery force of the Kansans' thirteen howitzers and eighteen brass Parrott guns began to fire anew and with telling effect.

It may as well be said just here, and cannot be too strongly emphasized, that while the entire engagement fought this day has been given the name of the Battle of Westport and is popularly supposed to have centered in the vicinity of that village, yet the severest and most im-

MAP No. 4. SHOWING POSITION OF FORCES AT 8 TO 10 A. M., OCTOBER 23D.



nile of map made in 1864 by Lieutenant Geo. T. Robinson, to accompany Major-General S. R. Curt official report to the United States War Department on the Battle of Westport.

. A—Old Independence Road. B—Fifteenth Street crossing of the Big Blue River. C, C—Old li Santa Fe Trail. D, D—Old Westport Road. E—Country Club grounds. F—Forest Hill Cemeter rope Park. H—Price's army, Fagan's division. I—Price's army, Marmaduke's division. J army, Shelby's division. K—Curtis' army, Jennison's brigade. L—Curtis' army, Moonlight e. M—Curtis' army, Blair's brigade. N—Curtis' army, Ford's brigade. O—Curtis' army, troo Deitzler. P—Pleasanton's army, Brown's (Phillips') brigade. Q—Pleasanton's army, McNei e. R—Pleasanton's army, Sanborn's brigade. S—Pleasanton's army, Winslow's brigade. T T cations before Kansas City. U—Wagon-train with Price's army.

PLATE IV.

Present aspect of the east approach to Byram's Ford. Scene of the crossing of Phillips' (Brown's), Winslow's, and Sanborn's brigades in their attack on Price's rear-guard under Marmaduke.

portant actions of the conflict were those conducted at the crossing of the Big Blue by Brown's brigade under Colonel Phillips and Winslow's brigade under Colonel Winslow and (later) under Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Benteen, both in their forcing of Marmaduke's resistance at this point and in their later arrival on the field of Westport. The heaviest losses in both officers and men suffered by any troops in the battle occurred in these brigades and at this point. And had it not been for the arrival of these forces on the field south of Brush Creek where Curtis and his men were engaged with Shelby and Fagan, it would have been a far different story that would have been written. This we shall now see.

As last described, Brown's brigade (now Phillips') and Sanborn's were being dismounted, their attempts to cross the stream in the face of the entrenched enemy having proven unsuccessful. They were accordingly formed in line of battle and advanced to the east bank of the river, from which position they began a heavy fire across the stream. Colonel Phillips deemed that a flanking movement might be successful, and sent Major George W. Kelley with the Fourth Missouri Volunteer Cavalry to make an attempt at the south end of Marmaduke's line. It took Kelley two hours to make sure of a place where the river could be crossed, for his men were retarded not only by the presence and the fire of the enemy, but by the trees felled in the stream all along its course. During this entire time every man on both sides was hotly engaged and Kelley's horse shot under him, but at last a place was found where a crossing was possible, and where, indeed, the nearest Confederates were driven back from their side of the river.

This point was the then widely-known Byram's Ford Crossing. Constantly in use at that day, on the main line of the road leading from Independence to the country south of Kansas City, it has since become unusable owing to shifts in the channel of the stream and is even almost unknown to many residents in the neighborhood, while the old roads that once led to it have many of them been fenced off and the ground around it cleared of this heavy timber and made into farms. In 1864, however, it was an easy crossing at a point where the river was wide and shallow, bordered by thick woods through which the roads approaching the ford passed. Deciding to move against this point, Phillips threw every available man against the weakened resistance of Marmaduke's men, and the crossing was made not only at the ford itself, but at points for a quarter of a mile on either side, the Fourth Cavalry under Kelley, the Seventh under Lieutenant-Colonel Crittenden, and the First under Lieutenant-Colonel B. F. Lazear wading over in this order, the men all dismounting and holding their arms above their heads as they waded, some of them waist-deep, their horses being held in the timber on the east bank. As this strong force was plainly seen moving in the timber near the ford the officers of Marmaduke's division moved all their men back from the river to the crest of a long sloping hill west of and commanding the river. Forming in a strong line here, making use of several rail fences, log houses, etc., they placed their howitzers and three Parrott guns in position and opened a heavy cross-fire upon the ford and the woods in its immediate vicinity. (The twelve-pounder shell shown in Plate X was fired at this time

PLATE V.

Old log house around which Marmaduke's rear-guard division of Price's army made a second stand when driven back from its first position at Byram's Ford of the Big Blue River. Originally stood in a small clearing in heavy woods. The logs composing the structure still plainly exhibit many bullet-marks.

PLATE VI.

View from point where Phillips' (Brown's) brigade halted and lay down in their charge on Marmaduke's position. Looking back toward Byram's Ford, over the ground covered by Phillips' advance. Log house standing during the battle shown in left middle ground. Byram's Ford lies in the hollow under the white mark on the horizon. The "Little Santa Fé Road," by which Pleasanton's army moved against Price's rear-guard, passed close to the houses seen on the horizon at the left of the picture.

having been plowed up recently near the old ford.) In spite of this vigorous opposition Phillips' brigade waded the stream, in crossing which several men and horses were killed, and rushed up the high bank on the west side, their relief on reaching a position on its top from which they could reply to the fire, finding vent in a great cheer all along their line. On getting all the men of his brigade across the river Colonel Phillips urged them at a double-quick through the woods on the west bank to charge the Confederates' second position without delay. Before that position, as it has been described, there lay a wide, open field, forming the face of the hill, some three hundred yards square, steep and with stumps and rocks cropping out everywhere. There was no way directly to attack the strong position of Marmaduke's men on the crest of this hill except by moving directly up the hill through this open field, which the Confederate cannon and musketry-fire completely commanded, and which was instantly swept by sheets of lead and iron at the first appearance of Phillips' men in the timber at its lower edge. Twice Colonel Phillips tried to force a charge up the hill, but although he—the only mounted man among the Federals at the moment—rode ahead of them, the fire down the slope was so fierce that even the veterans of his command would not face it, and lay down on the ground behind the stumps and rocks and began to answer the enemy with their rifles, carbines and Colt's revolvers. At this moment Phillips was dismayed to find that his men were running out of ammunition. It appeared that General Brown, in addition to having failed to move at dawn as ordered, had failed to provide his troops with

ammunition, in spite of messages sent him saying that it was at his disposal, and also in spite of a later report of his (October 27th) in which he asserted that he had not failed so to do. Phillips sent Major Kelley back in haste for both ammunition and reinforcements, both of which were sent, the latter in the shape of Colonel Winslow's brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Benteen, Winslow himself being at the time in command of the entire division. In the meantime the Confederates had taken advantage of the pause in the attack more firmly to establish themselves in their position in the timber on the crest of the hill, and their fire was such that many officers among the Federal force subsequently expressed their wonder that any of their men ever survived. "They occupied not only the ground, but the very tree-tops as well," to quote from one officer's report, their sharpshooters climbing into trees and singling out the Federal officers with deadly accuracy, not less than seven line officers and one field officer being shot at this point. The field officer was Colonel Winslow himself, who, with Lieutenant-Colonel Benteen beside him, was bringing up at a running charge one hundred men of the Fourth Missouri under Captain C. P. Knispel, a battalion of the Fourth Iowa under Captain E. W. Dee, and a regiment of the Missouri militia. He led them at a run past where Phillips' men were lying on the ground replying to the enemy's fire. As he passed, Colonel Phillips shouted to him, "Do n't try to go in there, Colonel! No man can live there!" Winslow did not hear him and went on, but had not ridden an hundred feet farther when he was hit in the leg by a rifle-ball and fell from his horse, severely

PLATE VII.

View up the hill where Phillips' (Brown's), Sanborn's, and Winslow's brigades made their final and decisive charge against Marmaduke's second position. At the time of the battle a heavy belt of woods bordered the crest of the slope shown, along the horizon-line, in the edge of which Marmaduke's division was posted. The Federal charge moved directly up the hill in the line of view shown. The man in the picture is standing near the spot where Colonel E. F. Winslow of the Fourth Iowa Cavalry (Fourth Brigade, Pleasanton's Army) was shot from his horse, and the child is standing near where Lieutenant-Colonel T. T. Crittenden, commanding the Seventh Missouri State Militia Cavalry (First Brigade, Pleasanton's army), was wounded.

PLATE VIII.

View from Marmaduke's second position, looking over the field of the final and decisive charge of the Federal forces, toward the log house and Byram's Ford in the distance. Marmaduke's line was drawn up in the edge of heavy timber, from the spectator's position to the line of fence seen at the extreme left of the picture. Phillips' (Brown's), Sanborn's, and Winslow's brigades charged directly over the ground shown, from the log house and large tree toward the spectator. The bullets shown in Plate X. were plowed up at this point. The carrying of this position by the Federal charge was the deciding action in the entire Battle of Westport.

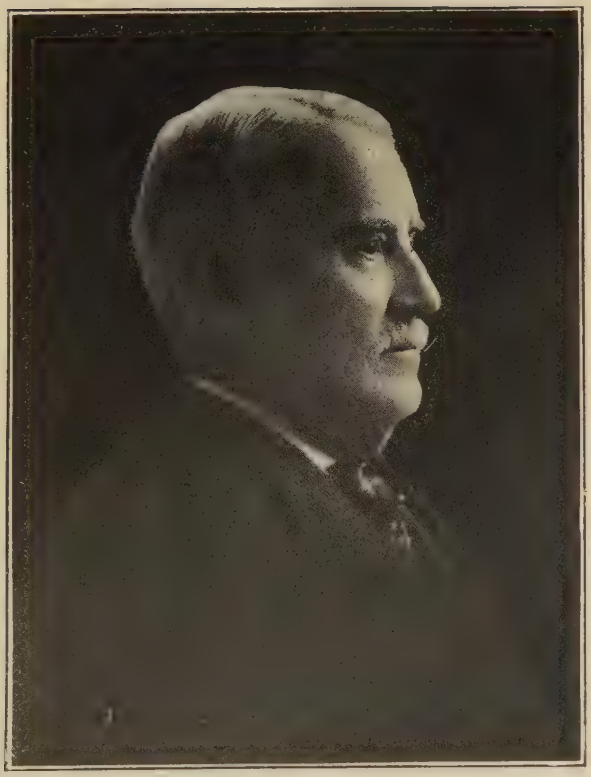
wounded, though he subsequently recovered from the wound. He rallied sufficiently to turn over his command to Lieutenant-Colonel Benteen, and was then left lying on the field. When Winslow fell, his men halted, broke, and ran back toward the foot of the hill. Benton rallied them and led them back again to the charge, with the Third and Fourth Iowa regiments supporting them, having come up by this time.

At this same time Lieutenant-Colonel Crittenden was also wounded. He was shot at by a Confederate sharpshooter in a tree, in a position so conspicuous that the officer saw him and realized that the man was shooting at him. But the sharpshooter's aim was low, and the bullet struck the ground some twenty feet in front of Crittenden, ricochetting and striking the officer squarely upon a thick wad of the fractional paper currency of the day, "shin-plasters," as they were called, which was in a waistcoat pocket, and though the missile did not pierce farther the force of the blow hurled him to the ground, producing great sickness, pallor and agony. His fellow-officers thought he had been shot through the body, and Colonel Phillips hurried to his side, gave him a drink of some old peach brandy with which a friend had recently filled Phillips' canteen, examined the wound and found that it was not serious, and even found the bullet in the pocket where it had struck.

Phillips then ordered his brigade up, and all the men on the field charged together up the slope in the face of the furious Confederate fire, reaching and breaking the Confederate lines, the men of Company A of the Third Iowa capturing a flag from a regiment of Marmaduke's

division. As several officers report, "this was the fiercest and most sanguinary conflict of the entire engagement," the men closing with one another and fighting desperately with sabers and revolvers. The log cabins mentioned as near the Confederate position were so many centers of desperate hand-to-hand fighting, Marmaduke's men having entered them to fire from their protection and through their windows, and holding them till they were overpowered or shot down by the swarming Federals. The one old log house still standing and shown in one of the accompanying photographs still bears many bullet-marks, while an officer estimated that another, on the crest of the hill, had been hit 5,000 times in this fight. Much credit for the final charge was given by the officers to the steady work done by Battery H of Thurber's command of the Missouri Light Artillery, one section of which, under Lieutenant Philip Smiley, fired almost incessantly, with canister and at short range, from 8 o'clock till after 11.

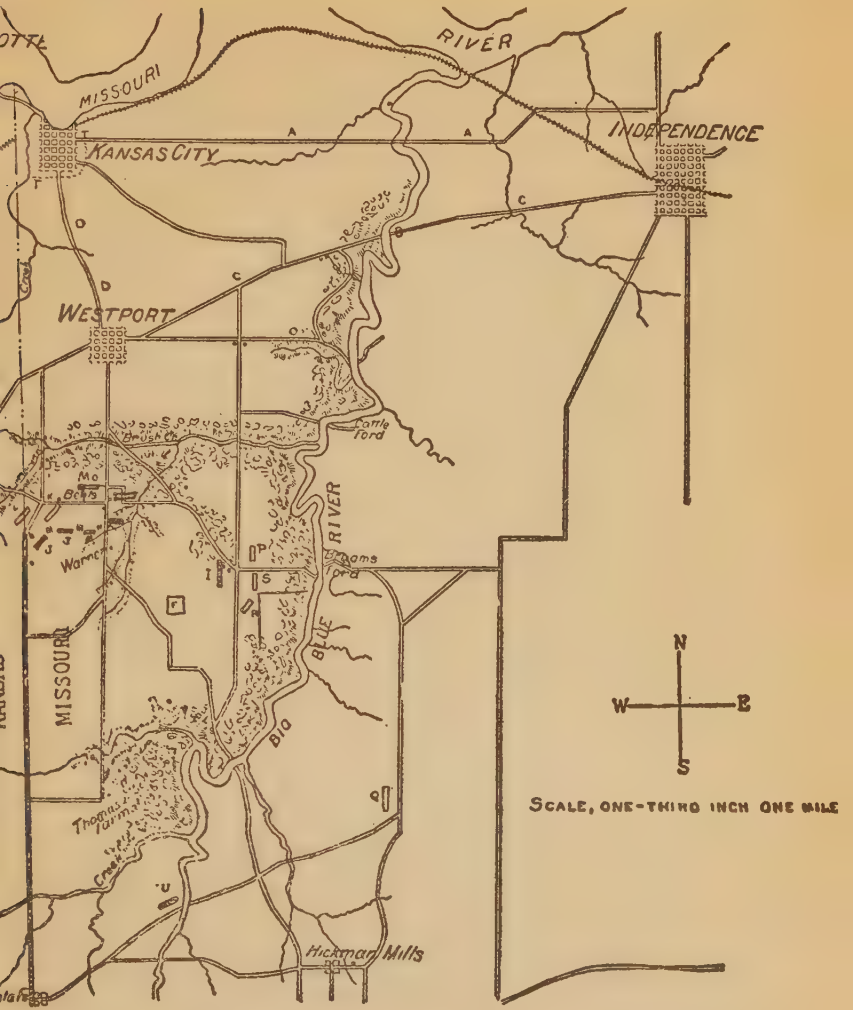
Phillips', Benteen's and Winslow's men were far more effectively armed than were Marmaduke's, the Seventh Missouri (Federal), being armed with the Smith breech-loading carbine, and at least one regiment of Winslow's brigade being armed with the Henry repeating rifle, .44 caliber, the predecessor of the later Winchester lever-action repeater. Of these troops in action General W. L. Cabell later wrote: "The enemy, armed with Henry rifles, poured a rapid and scathing fire into our commands, which far exceeded any firing we could do from our muzzle-loading Enfield rifles."



Ex-Governor T. T. Crittenden.

Lieutenant-Colonel Seventh Missouri Cavalry, Brown's Brigade. Pleasanton's Army.

MAP NO. 5 SHOWING POSITION OF FORCES AT 10 A. M. TO NOON, OCTOBER 23D.



of map made in 1864 by Lieutenant Geo. T. Robinson, to accompany Major-General S. R. Curtis' official report to the United States War Department on the Battle of Westport.

—Old Independence Road. B—Fifteenth Street crossing of the Big Blue River. C, C—Old line ta Fe Trail. D, D—Old Westport Road. E—Country Club grounds. F—Forest Hill Cemetery. Park. H—Price's army, Fagan's division. I—Price's army, Marmaduke's division. J—ny, Shelby's division. K—Curtis' army, Jennison's brigade. L—Curtis' army, Moonlight's M—Curtis' army, Blair's brigade. N—Curtis' army. Ford's brigade. O—Curtis' army, troops zler. P—Pleasanton's army, Brown's (Phillips') brigade. Q—Pleasanton's army, McNeil's R—Pleasanton's army, Sanborn's brigade. S—Pleasanton's army, Winslow's brigade. T, T—ons before Kansas City. U—Wagon-train with Price's army.

PLATE IX.

Henry Repeating Rifle. Pattern of 1860. .44 caliber. 15 shots. Used by some of Brown's (Phillips') brigade, Pleasanton's army, in the Battle of Westport. (From the collection of Mr. R. E. Richardson, Kansas City, Mo.)

Smith Breech-loading Carbine. .52 caliber. (Gilbert Smith's patent, 1856.) Used by the Seventh Missouri (Federal) Cavalry in the Battle of Westport. 30,062 of these carbines were used in the Union armies during the Civil War. (Original in possession of the University Club, Kansas City, Mo.)

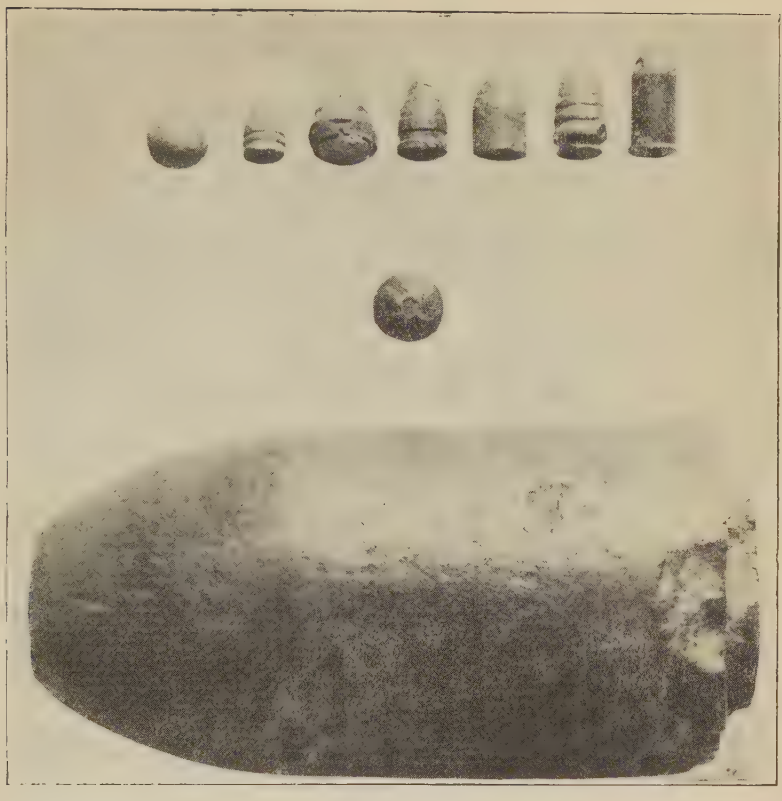


PLATE X.

Confederate twelve-pounder howitzer shell, plowed up on west bank of the Big Blue River at the Byram's Ford crossing. Fired from artillery placed at the second position of Price's rear-guard under Marmaduke.

Button from Federal soldier's uniform. Found at point where the final charge of Phillips' (Brown's), Sanborn's, and Winslow's brigades carried the second position of Price's rear-guard under Marmaduke.

Bullets plowed up on the field of the final charge of the three above-named brigades. Identified as follows, from left to right:

[OVER]

1. Confederate shot-gun ball.
2. Colt's .36-caliber revolver bullet.
3. Bullet from Burnside's breech-loading carbine, .56 caliber.
4. Solid-base rifle bullet.
5. Hollow-base musket bullet.
6. Bullet from Smith's breech-loading carbine, .52 caliber. This carbine was issued to the Seventh Missouri State Militia Cavalry.
7. Metallic cartridge, from Henry repeating rifle. .44 caliber, center-fire. Missed fire, cap bearing impression of firing-pin.

The position of this stand of the Confederate rear-guard under Marmaduke was on the line of the north-and-south road, to-day known as Elmwood Avenue, a little less than a half mile east of Cleveland Avenue and the Swope Park trolley line, and about 1,500 feet north of the north line of Swope Park. It was at this point that the bullets and button shown in Plate X. were found, and similar relics of the fight are still to be found in large numbers for a distance of 600 yards (the bullet-range of that day) east and west of this site.

Marmaduke's last desperate stand thus broken, he had no alternative save to retreat in the direction of the main body of Price's army, now falling back before the Kansans' artillery, their mounted charges, and the swarms of shouting militia in front of Westport. Once started, Phillips and Benteen drove the retreating Confederates with every man of their commands, mounting them as soon as the position was taken and continuing the pursuit at full speed, hurrying Thurber's guns forward and stopping them on one ridge after another to send shell and canister after the enemy's hurrying retreat. The sound of these approaching guns soon reached the ears of the Kansas troops engaged with Shelby's and Fagan's brigades, and as the reports grew louder and nearer, tremendous cheers rose from the Kansans as they realized its significance and that Pleasanton's long pursuit from St. Louis had arrived on the field at the critical moment. General Curtis says that it was just noon when he heard the sound of Pleasanton's guns above the roar of the fighting in his own vicinity, and he felt so sure of what it augured for the Federal arms that he immediately

despatched a messenger to Kansas City to notify Colonel Coates that there would be no need for him and his Home Guards, and asking him to telegraph to Rosecrans at St. Louis that the day was as good as won.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BATTLE OF WESTPORT.—FROM NOON TO 2 O'CLOCK.

GENERAL CURTIS was right. The brigades of Phillips, Benteen and Sanborn drove the Confederates under Marmaduke westward until the two battle-fields were pratically one, extending from before Westport on the northwest to a point a mile east of Troost Avenue on the east, upon which vast field the entire Federal and Confederate forces now faced and fought one another. The advance of Phillips', Sanborn's and Benteen's cavalry columns upon the field, driving Marmaduke's division before them, made their attack practically a flanking one, and Price's line of battle was crushed together with Federal assaults on the north and east at the same time. With the presence of Pleasanton's forces on the field, Price's men rapidly fell back southward, when Price and his officers rode along the lines begging the men to make one more stand, which they did. This was at almost exactly 1 o'clock, and this second stand of Price's army was on an east-and-west line from the present Forest Hill Cemetery to the Wornall Road. Even in the heat of battle the officers and men were fascinated by the martial beauty of the spectacle that was presented by the vast extent of the firing lines that were now entirely in the open and perfectly visible under the brilliant and unclouded October noon. Great clouds of

smoke rose from the entire field, from batteries and regimental volleys, and the din of the furious cannonade was plainly heard by the citizens miles away in Kansas City, where most of the non-combatant population was on house-tops or hill-tops to listen and to watch the smoke rising from the distant field. At this hour of the battle, from 12:30 to 1:30, nearly thirty thousand men were engaged on a field between three and four miles square, extending from the State Line before Westport to about the southeast corner of Forest Hill Cemetery, or where the monument to the Confederate dead stands to-day above the last resting-place of Brigadier-General Shelby and many of his men.

Not a few deeds of marksmanship and daring characterized the fighting at this time, that of Price's last stand, and have passed into history. Confederate sharpshooters again climbed the occasional trees that dotted the prairie and from these points of vantage used their rifles in picking off the Federal officers and men. On the Federal side some very accurate work was done with cannon in the attempt to disable the enemy's artillery. Two shots in particular were so notable as to have passed into the official reports of the battle. One was from a gun of a most interesting artillery force belonging to Curtis' army and variously named in the official reports. Manned by negroes recruited in Leavenworth under Major R. H. Hunt, the attention of Stanton, the Secretary of War, had been drawn to its existence, and he had personally issued commissions to three negro officers of its force. One was a Captain Douglas, of Muscatine, Iowa, a man of remarkable natural eloquence and great power

PLATE XI.

Front and rear views of the monument erected on the battlefield by the Kansas City Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, in honor of the Confederate dead in the Battle of Westport. The monument stands at the east end of the Confederate line of Price's last stand, the statue of the Confederate soldier facing toward the Federal pursuit. On the slope before the monument may be seen the low head-stones marking the graves where have been gathered all the Confederate dead. The largest of these head-stones, visible in the rear-view just at the left of the base of the monument, marks the grave of Brigadier-General Shelby, buried here on his death in 1897.

over his people. A second was Lieutenant Miner, a highly-educated colored man who had been private secretary to Colonel George C. Hoyt, the lawyer from Athol, Maine, who had defended John Brown in his famous trial. The third was of an opposite type, First Lieutenant "Bill" Matthews, a giant and coal-black negro, a Hercules in strength, unlettered, but devoted to his service. The battery consisted of six rifled field-pieces and was attached to Colonel C. W. Blair's brigade during the battle. Its official title was the Second United States Colored Battery Light Artillery, and several of its men were killed before Westport, while the excellent work it did is mentioned in many Federal reports. The particular shot was aimed by a white officer, Captain J. H. Dodge, commanding the Ninth Wisconsin Volunteer Battery, but who used this gun of the negro battery at this moment, the shell shattering the carriage of a Confederate howitzer and dropping the piece disabled to the ground. The other shot was aimed by Major R. H. Hunt, more than once mentioned herein as Chief of the Kansas Artillery, with a gun of Lieutenant Eayre's section of the Ninth Wisconsin Battery, and the solid shot struck one of the heavy guns of Captain R. A. Collins' Missouri Battery, with Shelby's division, shattering the piece to the trunnions. The remarkable effect of the shot was due to the fact that the gun was being loaded at the moment it was struck, and the charge that was being inserted exploded, bursting the gun and killing and wounding several men and horses in its vicinity. It was later examined by Federal officers and found to be an imitation-Parrott, cast in a Confederate foundry in Texas. At the time when these

shots were fired the Federal batteries were standing in a position near the present Wornall Road, some distance south and east of the present Country Club, and the disabled Confederate pieces were some six or eight hundred yards farther southeast.

Another unique feature of the entire engagement was the diversity of arms used, on the Confederate side, at least. These comprised excellent Enfield rifled muskets imported from England through Mexico, sabers and other swords, many of them the product of rustic blacksmith shops; single and double-barreled shot-guns, not a few of them antiquated flint-locks; and cannon that ranged from the Parrotts, Rodmans, Napoleons and howitzers down to a most original piece in the possession of one of Price's forces, some six feet long, but only an inch in bore, but praised by one of its gray-clad devotees as "invaluable for picking off individuals at long range." It is also reported, on apparently credible authority, that some of the guns of Collins' battery, General Jeff Thompson's brigade, were breech-loaders, after a pattern invented by a D. W. Hughes of Memphis, Tennessee, later of Yates Center, Kansas, to whom a patent was awarded by the Confederate Government in 1863. These were of various sizes, some cast in bronze and some bored out of old car-axles, generally of but an inch to two inches in bore, mounted on light carriages and often moved by men alone after the fashion of naval howitzers. They fired a single leaden ball, and a range of three miles was claimed for the best of them. The difference in the arms used in the ranks was so marked even during the progress of the battle that more than one Federal officer reports having

PLATE XII.

1. Side-arms worn by Colonel J. F. Phillips (Seventh Missouri State Militia Cavalry), of Pleasanton's army, throughout the campaign in pursuit of Price. Regulation U. S. cavalry saber and pair of Colt's revolvers, .36 caliber.

2. The large revolver at the left of the three shown, a .44-caliber Colt's, was used throughout Price's campaign by A. T. Palmer, a sixteen-year-old boy, whom Major-General John S. Marmaduke attached to his staff as an aide.

noted by the unmistakable roar of shot-gun volleys that the troops engaged were either raw recruits or irregular soldiery, and not musket-armed regulars. One Confederate officer reports that his men were compelled to dismount whenever they wished to fire, as their guns were so long as to be unusable from the saddle, being evidently the old-fashioned but once-famous arm known as the "Kentucky pea-rifle."

But this last and desperate stand of Price's men—though it shook the impetuous onset of Sanborn's brigade for a moment, and though it quite gave wings to a regiment of Kansans upon whom Shelby's fierce troopers suddenly whirled about—could yet avail nothing against the now combined armies of Curtis and Pleasanton, and the union of these lines rang out in their united volleys the death-knell of Price's last great "raid." As the Confederate Brigadier-General M. Jeff Thompson later wrote, "then for the first time in this campaign Shelby's brigade turned its backs toward the foe." Thurber's battery, with the brigades of Phillips and Benteen, did as much toward forcing the flight as any of the Federal artillery, being galloped into short range and firing on the re-retreating Confederates with double-shotted canister. With the first break of this last stand the great rout began. Price says that he ordered the retreat when the news reached him that his wagon-train was being threatened by a Federal brigade (McNeil's), though, as we have seen, this threat came to nothing.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RETREAT AND THE END OF THE CAMPAIGN.

OFF to the southward moved the pursued and the pursuers. The sound of the heavy firing grew fainter and fainter to the anxious listeners in the little Kansas City of that fateful day, and the Battle of Westport was over. Toward the close of the afternoon Curtis halted the rawest of his Kansans and sent them back to Kansas City, there to be mustered out and returned to their homes, and by an order dated, "In the field, on Indian Creek," revoked his declaration of martial law in the State of Kansas. The Fifth, Sixth and Tenth Kansas regiments were allowed to continue the pursuit in company with Pleasantan's veterans as far as Fort Scott, where they too were halted and mustered out of service.

With these exceptions the two united Federal armies continued the chase all that night and the next day, advancing directly southward as fast as the jaded horses of pursued and pursuers made possible, along the State Line between Missouri and Kansas, now on one side of the line and now on the other. That night (the 24th) the pursuit halted at Mound City, the then little county-seat of Linn County, Kansas, the rear-guard of the Confederates occupying the two mounds at a little distance from the settlement, from which it takes its name. In the middle of the night, at Curtis' orders, the Second Col-

orado Cavalry and the (detachment of the) Eighth Missouri State Militia Cavalry, under Major R. H. Hunt and Colonel J. J. Gravely, moved, in pitch darkness and a pouring storm, to take the mounds. Just before daybreak the Confederates abandoned the mounds after a brief exchange of fire, and the pursuit across the prairies began anew.

Five miles southeast of Mound City, in the timber on the north bank of Mine Creek and not far from its junction with the Little Osage, Price's men halted for the last stand of their entire campaign. Shelby's division had been sent to protect the great wagon-train, but the divisions of Fagan and Marmaduke were drawn up in line of battle, six lines deep, ten pieces of artillery placed on their left wing. Phillips' and Benteen's brigades charged directly against the center and left of the enemy's position, hoping to cut off and capture the guns, in which they were eventually successful, though not till they had experienced severe losses from shell and musketry. The regular formation of the battle-lines gave way to the utmost confusion, in which friends and foes were hardly distinguishable, and one Federal line even charged another. Officers, fancying themselves leading their men, found themselves the prisoners of those about them; soldiers, their muskets at their shoulders to fire, lowered them to take another look and determine whether the objects of their aim were for them or against them. Major Abial R. Pierce, commanding the Fourth Iowa Cavalry of Winslow's (Benteen's) brigade, is reported to have cut down eight Confederates with his own saber and he took two flags with his own hands. Colonel Slemons,

commanding Slemon's brigade, who had been with Price since the day of Corinth, and who had held the rear-guard on the mounds at Mound City, was mortally wounded. Major-General Marmaduke, while striving to rally his men, was attacked by a Federal corporal, already severely wounded, James Dunlavy of Company D, Fourth Iowa Cavalry. Dunlavy was firing at Marmaduke with his revolver, when the officer, taking him for a Confederate, rode up to him to reprove him for firing at one of his own side. Dunlavy waited till Marmaduke was within short range, leveled his pistol and forced him to dismount and surrender, when Marmaduke's horse immediately ran away, and the corporal turned his captive over to Colonel Blair, commanding the Fourth Brigade under Curtis. Blair presented Dunlavy with Marmaduke's revolver as a trophy of his feat. At almost the same time Brigadier-General W. L. Cabell was captured. Like his fellow-officers, he had been trying desperately to rally his broken lines, the flag-bearer of Colonel Anderson Gordon's Arkansas cavalry regiment riding with him and defiantly waving the regimental flag. In jumping Mine Creek, Cabell's horse fell, when a white-haired lieutenant and three men of the Seventh Missouri Cavalry (Phillips' regiment, now under Lieutenant-Colonel T. T. Crittenden) demanded his surrender. The General gave up his pistols and the sword he was carrying (his own having been lost at Independence, as we have seen), when the lieutenant proposed to kill his captive on the spot to prevent his getting away. In the surrounding confusion General Cabell got away, seizing a little Choctaw pony which a Confederate private was riding, and finding Colonel Gor-

Map No. 6. Showing Position of Forces at 1:30 p. m. and after, October 23

c-simile of map made in 1864 by Lieutenant Geo. T. Robinson, to accompany Major-General S. R. C official report to the United States War Department on the Battle of Westport.

A, A—Old Independence Road. B—Fifteenth Street crossing of the Big Blue River. C, C—Ol the Santa Fe Trail. D, D—Old Westport Road. E—Country Club grounds. F—Forest Hill Cem —Swope Park. H—Price's army, Fagan's division. I—Price's army, Marmaduke's division. ice's army, Shelby's division. K—Curtis' army, Jennison's brigade. L—Curtis' army, Moonl gade. M—Curtis' army, Blair's brigade. N—Curtis' army, Ford's brigade. O—Curtis' army, der Deitzler. P—Pleasanton's army, Brown's (Phillips') brigade. Q—Pleasanton's army, Mc gade. R—Pleasanton's army, Sanborn's brigade. S—Pleasanton's army, Winslow's brigade. T rtifications before Kansas City. U—Wagon-train with Price's army.

don the two strove again to form a resistance. While thus engaged they ran into the Third Iowa Cavalry, a volley from whom shot Cabell's horse in several places, and he was again dismounted. Sergeant Cavalry N. Young, of the Third Iowa, seized him and protected him from several Federal soldiers who would have shot him on the ground that he had once been captured and had escaped. The sergeant took his prisoner to General Pleasanton himself, by whom his surrender was received. Both these Federal officers later received medals of honor at the recommendation of Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Benteen. Several other Confederate officers, over eight hundred of their men and nine guns were captured at Mine Creek. Price himself narrowly escaped capture, having been but a few feet from Cabell when he was seized, and escaping only by the fleetness of his horse. General Price ordinarily travelled with his army in a carriage, but at the beginning of this action, seeing that it bade fair to be exceedingly close, he betook himself to a horse, and to this fact owed his escape. It was indeed the end of his campaign—of his army itself. That night his wagon-train was burned to keep it from capture and his reserve ammunition exploded for the same purpose. His Adjutant-General wrote: "Everything is now a mass of confusion," and "the morale of the army is ruined." The last campaign of Sterling Price, the greatest move of the Confederacy in the West, was over.

In the following spring, on April 25th, 1865, there was called at General E. Kirby Smith's instruction a "Confederate Court of Inquiry," for which Price himself had asked, that it might "vindicate his honor" in regard to

his conduct of his invasion that had ended so disastrously for the Confederate arms. The court convened at Shreveport, Louisiana, with Major O. M. Watkins, C.S.A., as Judge-Advocate, and remained in session till May 3d, when it adjourned to meet again at Washington, Arkansas, at the call of General Smith, but the war coming soon to a close such a call was never issued and it never met again.

The numbers engaged in the Battle of Westport have often been grossly misstated, even when such statements have been based on the reports of the time, chiefly because each side firmly believed and affirmed the other enormously to outnumber it. As we have seen, Price himself was told by one of his own spies that he was pursued by 39,000 men, while he writes that he understood that Blunt alone of Curtis' force had 8,000 men under him. On the Federal side General Rosecrans gives 15,000 as his lowest estimate of the numbers of Price's cavalry, with 26,000 as the largest number reported to him.

The truth was that Price had close to 9,000 armed men with him at the time of the Battle of Westport. Opposed to him were somewhere near 15,000 under General Curtis (Curtis' own statement, dated two days before Westport), and 6,500 more under Pleasanton, although 1,500 of these were not actually in the battle, being sent on the fruitless move against Price's wagon-train. There were thus almost exactly 20,000 Federal and 9,000 Confederates engaged in the battle of the 23d.

The casualties of the day—and of the two previous days of fighting at the Little Blue, Independence and the

PLATE XIII.

"Scrip," or paper currency issued by the State of Kansas in 1867 in payment of the Kansas State Militia for their services in Curtis' army during the campaign against Price's invasion. (Original in the possession of Mr. Frank Faxon, Kansas City, Mo.)

Big Blue—were equally exaggerated then and since, the fierceness of the fire and the newness of battle-experiences to many of the contestants leading them to imagine losses greater than actually occurred. Comparing the statements of witnesses, participants, officers, newspaper-reporters and hospital-physicians, we conclude that a total of 1,000 casualties—dead and severely wounded—is as near a correct estimate of the losses on both sides as is possible.

The wounded were ministered to in at least four places. Some were cared for on the field and in and about the old Wornall Home, which was converted into a temporary hospital by the Federals under Curtis. A few were carried to Shawneetown in an ambulance attached to the Second Colorado and driven by a 16-year-old boy, now Mr. C. W. Whitney of Kansas City. Many others were brought to Kansas City, the Confederates being placed in the Southern Methodist Church that then stood on the south side of Fifth Street, between Delaware and Wyandotte streets. The Federal wounded were cared for in the Lockridge Hall, then standing at the southeast corner of Fifth and Main Streets, and converted into a hospital under charge of Surgeon Philip Harvey of the United States Volunteers.

Of the dead, many were buried on the field, some (it is said) in the old cemetery on the State Line Road near the Ward Farm, others in the burying-ground of which until recently traces were visible at Troost Avenue and Fifty-first Street, and sixty-eight unidentified Confederates being buried at one place. Other Confederates were buried on the W. B. Clark Farm south of Forest Hill

Cemetery. The remains of as many as could be traced were in late years placed in the beautiful lot owned by the Daughters of the Confederacy in Forest Hill Cemetery, above which rises the shaft that commemorates their devotion to their cause. On General Shelby's death in 1897 he was buried here among his men.

With the Battle of Westport, Price and his men of the Confederate "Army of the Trans-Mississippi" passed out of history, and never again to the end of the great conflict was Missouri seriously in danger. They should forever form a sacred ground, those fair farm acres where was fought the battle that saved the West for the Union—the western Gettysburg.

APPENDIX.

1. Price's Army, "The Army of the Trans-Mississippi."
2. Curtis' Army, "The Army of the Border."
3. Pleasanton's Army, "The Army of the Department of the Missouri."
4. Comparison of Numbers Engaged in the Battle of Westport and in other Battles of the Civil War west of the Mississippi.
5. The "Reynolds' Manuscript" on Sterling Price and the Confederacy.

ORGANIZATION OF PRICE'S ARMY.

"The Army of the Trans-Mississippi." Major-General Sterling Price, C.S.A., commanding. L. A. Maclean, Adjutant-General.

FAGAN'S DIVISION.

Major-General James F. Fagan.

Cabell's Brigade.—Brigadier-General Wm. L. Cabell. Lieutenant-Colonel A. V. Reiff.

Monroe's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel James C. Monroe.

Gordon's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel Anderson Gordon.

Morgan's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel Thomas J. Morgan.

Hill's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel John F. Hill.

Gunter's Arkansas Cavalry Battalion. Lieutenant-Colonel Thos. M. Gunter.

Harrell's Arkansas Cavalry Battalion. Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Harrell.

Witherspoon's Arkansas Cavalry Battalion. Major J. L. Witherspoon.

Hughey's Arkansas Battery. Captain W. M. Hughey.

Slemon's Brigade.—Colonel W. F. Slemons. Colonel Wm. A. Crawford.

Second Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel W. F. Slemons.

Crawford's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel Wm. A. Crawford.

Carlton's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel Chas. H. Carlton.

Wright's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel John C. Wright.

Dobbin's Brigade.—Colonel Archibald S. Dobbin.

Dobbin's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel Archibald S. Dobbin.

McGhee's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel James H. McGhee.

Witt's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel A. R. Witt.

Blocher's Arkansas Battery, 1 section. Lieutenant J. V. Zimmerman.

McCray's Brigade.—Colonel Thomas H. McCray.

Forty-fifth Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel Oliver P. Lyles.

Forty-seventh Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel Lee Crandall.

Fifteenth Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Timothy Reves.

Unattached.—Rogan's Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel Jas. W. Rogan.

Anderson's Arkansas Cavalry Battalion. Captain Wm. L. Anderson.

MARMADUKE'S DIVISION.

Major-General John S. Marmaduke.
Brigadier-General John B. Clark, Jr.

Escort:

Company D, Fifth Missouri Cavalry. Captain D. R. Stallard.

Marmaduke's Brigade.—Brigadier-General John B. Clark, Jr. Colonel Colton Greene.

Third Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Colton Greene.

Fourth Missouri Cavalry. Colonel John Q. Burbridge.

Seventh Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Solomon G. Kitchen.

Davies' Battalion Missouri Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel J. F. Davies.

Eighth Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Wm. L. Jeffers.

Tenth Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Robert R. Lawther.

Fourteenth Missouri Cavalry Battalion. Lieutenant-Colonel Robert C. Wood.

Hynson's Texas Battery. Captain H. C. Hynson.

Harris' Missouri Battery. Captain S. S. Harris.

Engineer Company. Captain Jas. T. Hogane.

Freeman's Brigade.—Colonel Thomas R. Freeman.

Freeman's Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Thomas R. Freeman.

Fristoe's Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Edward T. Fristoe.

Ford's Arkansas Cavalry Battalion. Lieutenant-Colonel Barney Ford.

SHELBY'S DIVISION.

Brigadier-General Joseph O. Shelby.

Shelby's Brigade.—Colonel David Shanks. Colonel Moses W. Smith. Brigadier-General M. Jeff Thompson.

Fifth Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Frank B. Gordon.

Eleventh Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Moses W. Smith.

Sixth Missouri Cavalry. Colonel David Shanks. (This regiment sometimes incorrectly given as the Twelfth.)

Elliott's Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Benjamin Elliott.

Slayback's Missouri Cavalry Battalion. Lieutenant-Colonel Alonzo W. Slayback.

Collins' Missouri Battery. Captain Richard A. Collins.

Jackman's Brigade.—Colonel Sidney D. Jackman.

Jackman's Missouri Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel C. H. Nichols.

Hunter's Missouri Cavalry. Colonel DeWitt C. Hunter.

Williams' Missouri Cavalry Battalion. Lieutenant-Colonel D. A. Williams.

Schnable's Missouri Cavalry Battalion. Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Schnable.

Collins' Missouri Battery, 1 section. Lieutenant Jacob D. Connor.

Tyler's Brigade.—Colonel Charles H. Tyler.

Perkins' Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Caleb Perkins.

Coffee's Missouri Cavalry. Colonel Jacob T. Coffee.

Searcey's Missouri Cavalry. Colonel James T. Searcey.

Unattached.—Forty-sixth Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel W. O. Coleman.

(NOTE.—The majority of the above regiments were at most but skeleton organizations, many consisting of mere handfuls of men. Of the 50 regiments, etc., reported, the total number never exceeded 10,000 men under arms.

Some accounts mention a fourth division, "Cabell's Division." It was Price's intention to form such a division when the hoped-for recruits from Confederate-sympathizing societies in Missouri and Illinois should have become sufficiently numerous to compose such a separate force, but such never became the case, and the "division" was never actually formed. Certain captured Confederates stated the opposite of this, however, which information was duly reported. Hence the error.)

ORGANIZATION OF CURTIS' ARMY.

"The Army of the Border." Major-General Samuel R. Curtis, U.S.A., Department of Kansas, commanding.

Escort: Company G, Eleventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and two mountain howitzers, under Lieutenant Edward Gill.

FIRST DIVISION.

Major-General James G. Blunt, U.S A., commanding.

Major-General George W. Deitzler, Adjutant-General Kansas State Militia, in charge of the militia in the field.

Major-General Chapman S. Charlot, Assistant Adjutant-General Kansas State Militia.

Major Robert H. Hunt, Chief of Kansas State Artillery.

First Brigade.—Colonel Charles R. Jennison, Fifteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry.

Fifteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel Geo. H. Hoyt.

Detachment Third Wisconsin Cavalry. Captain Robert Carpenter.

Battery of five twelve-pounder mountain howitzers. Second Lieutenant H. L. Barker.

Second Brigade.—Colonel Thomas Moonlight, Eleventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry.

Eleventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel Preston B. Plumb.

Detachment (Companies L and M) Fifth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. Captain Jas. H. Young.

Detachment (Companies A and D) Sixteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel Sam'l Walker.

Battery of four twelve-pounder mountain howitzers, manned by Company E, Eleventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry.

Third Brigade.—Colonel Chas. W. Blair, Fourteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry.

Fifth Kansas State Militia. Colonel G. A. Colton.

Sixth Kansas State Militia. Colonel Jas. Montgomery (succeeding Colonel J. S. Snoddy.)

Tenth Kansas State Militia. Colonel Wm. Pennock.

Wilson's Independent Scouts. Captain John Wilson.

Two-gun Battery Second Kansas State Artillery. Lieutenant D. C. Knowles.

Independent Battery Colorado Volunteers. Six rifled field-pieces. Captain W. D. McLain.

Fourth Kansas State Militia. Colonel W. D. McCain. (Added on 21st inst.)

Nineteenth Kansas State Militia. Colonel A. C. Hogan. (Added on 21st inst.)

Company E, Fourteenth Kansas Cavalry. Lieutenant W. B. Clark.

Ninth Wisconsin Battery. Captain James H. Dodge.

Fourth Brigade.—Colonel James H. Ford, Second Colorado Cavalry. (This brigade created on 20th inst. by Major-General Curtis at Major-General Blunt's request.)

Second Colorado Cavalry. Major J. H. Pritchard (succeeding Major J. N. Smith, killed at Little Blue.)

Detachment Sixteenth Kansas Cavalry. Major James Ketner.

Independent Battery Colorado Volunteers. (See Third Brigade. With Fourth Brigade after 20th inst.)

Other regiments or detachments of regiments of Kansas State Militia, all infantry, unattached or reaching the vicinity of Kansas City too late for formal assignment to brigades, etc., and therefore serving generally under orders from Major-General George W. Deitzler, Adjutant-General Kansas State Militia. No regiment mentioned here save as its name is given in some official report as having some connection, however remote, with the battles of either Little Blue, Big Blue, or Westport.

Second Kansas State Militia. Colonel George W. Veale.

Detachment Seventh Kansas State Militia. Colonel Peter McFarland.

Ninth Kansas State Militia. Colonel Frank M. Tracy.

Twelfth Kansas State Militia. Colonel L. S. Treat.

Thirteenth Kansas State Militia. Colonel Alexander S. Johnson.

Fourteenth Kansas State Militia. Colonel Wm. Gordon.

Eighteenth Kansas State Militia. Colonel Matthew Quigg.

Twentieth Kansas State Militia. Colonel J. B. Hubble.

Twenty-first Kansas State Militia. Colonel Sandy Lowe.

Second Kansas Colored State Militia. Captain R. J. Hinton.

Unattached.—Kansas City Home Guards. Colonel Kersey Coates.

(NOTE.—Many officers of regiments other than given above, happening to be in the vicinity of Kansas City, at Fort Leavenworth, at Fort Riley, in Kansas, etc., on duty, on leave, or on furlough, served temporarily in various capacities with the Army of the Border.)

ORGANIZATION OF PLEASANTON'S ARMY.

"The Army of the Department of the Missouri." Major-General Alfred S. Pleasanton, U.S.A., Provisional Cavalry Division, commanding. Colonel J. V. DuBois, Chief of Staff.

First Brigade.—Colonel J. F. Phillips. (Succeeding Brigadier-General E. B. Brown, arrested, on 23d inst.)

First Missouri State Militia Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel B. F. Lazear. (Succeeding Colonel Jas. McFerran, relieved by order of Pleasanton on 23d inst.)

Fourth Missouri State Militia Cavalry. Major George W. Kelley.

Seventh Missouri State Militia Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel T. T. Crittenden. (Succeeding Colonel John F. Phillips, placed in command of brigade on 23d inst.)

First Iowa Cavalry. Major John McDermott.

Second Brigade.—Brigadier-General John McNeil.

Seventeenth Illinois Volunteer Cavalry. Colonel J. L. Beveridge.

Thirteenth Missouri Cavalry Veteran Volunteers. Colonel E. C. Catherwood.

Fifth Missouri State Militia Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Eppstein.

Detachment Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel D. M. Draper.

Detachment Third Missouri State Militia Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. Matthews.

Detachment Second Missouri Volunteer Cavalry ("Merrill's Horse"). Captain G. M. Houston.

Seventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. Major F. M. Malone.

Battery of four twelve-pounder mountain howitzers. Lieutenant A. Hillerich.

Battery B, Second Missouri Light Artillery (twelve-pounder Napoleons). Captain J. J. Sutter.

Third Brigade.—Brigadier-General John B. Sanborn.

Detachment Sixth Missouri State Militia Cavalry. Major Wm. Plumb.

Detachment Eighth Missouri State Militia Cavalry. Colonel J. J. Gravely.

Detachment Sixth Provisional Enrolled Missouri Militia Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel Jno. F. McMahan.

Detachment Seventh Provisional Enrolled Missouri Militia Cavalry. Major W. B. Mitchell.

Second Arkansas Cavalry. Colonel John E. Phelps.

Batteries H and L, Second Missouri Light Artillery. Six three-inch Rodman guns. (Battery H, Captain C. H. Thurber, with the First Brigade at Big Blue. Battery L, Captain W. C. F. Montgomery, with the Second Brigade near Hickman's Mills.)

Fourth Brigade.—Colonel E. F. Winslow, Fourth Iowa Cavalry. (Wounded at the Big Blue, October 23d, and succeeded by) Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Benteen.

Fourth Iowa Cavalry. Major Abial R. Pierce.

Third Iowa Cavalry. Major Benjamin S. Jones.

Tenth Missouri Cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Benteen. (On taking command of brigade was succeeded by) Major W. H. Lusk.

(NOTE.—Only such regiments, etc., are given here as had some connection, however remote, with the actions of either Little Blue, Big Blue, or Westport. Several other regiments, detachments, and bodies of troops went a short distance from St. Louis, Jefferson City, and other points, under Pleasanton's command and nominally in pursuit of Price, but were ordered back or elsewhere as it was seen that they would not be needed. All such are omitted here, as Pleasanton himself omits mention of them in his reports on these battles.

More of the above regiments than are so stated were only detachments of their respective forces, particularly in the Fourth Brigade.

The above is the theoretical organization of the Army and was considerably altered—regiments, companies, detachments, etc., being shifted as necessary—during the actual pursuit of and engagements with Price's forces.)

COMPARISON OF NUMBERS ENGAGED IN THE BATTLE OF WESTPORT AND IN OTHER LAND BATTLES OF THE CIVIL WAR WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

The statement, more than once made in the preceding pages, that the Battle of Westport was the largest battle in point of numbers engaged that was fought west of the Mississippi River during the Civil War, having been frequently disputed, there follows below the official figures of the numbers engaged on both sides in every engagement of importance in the territory mentioned.

The battle of Arkansas Post and Fort Hindman, Arkansas, January 10th and 11th, 1863, had more troops engaged than had the Battle of Westport, but it does not enter into the present consideration, having been partly a naval battle, Porter's fleet of three iron-clads and six gun-boats being used to reduce the Confederate force.

The battle of Prairie Grove, Arkansas (see below), has sometimes been alleged as having had more troops engaged than at Westport, the statement having received credence that there were 32,000 Confederate troops engaged. The report to that effect has been traced by the writer to the fact that the Federals captured a Confederate officer's account-book, in which it was recorded that rations for 32,000 men were issued. Those figures are, however, untenable in view of the fact that the figures given below were supplied by Major-General T. C. Hind-

man, C.S.A., and have been accepted both by the Government's Official Records of the Civil War and the Century Company's "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," Vol. 3, page 441 *et seq.*

TROOPS ENGAGED IN PRINCIPAL LAND BATTLES FOUGHT WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

Place.	*Date.*	*Fed.*	*Con.*	*Total.*
Wilson's Creek, Mo.	Aug. 10, '61	5,400	10,175	15,575
Lexington, Mo.	Sept. 18–20, '61	3,600	18,000	21,600
Belmont, Mo.	Nov. 7, '61	3,114	5,000	8,114
Pea Ridge, Ark.	Mar. 7, '62	10,500	16,202	26,702
Prairie Grove, Ark.	Dec. 7, '62	14,000	10,000	24,000
Helena, Ark.	July 4, '63	4,129	7,646	11,775
Westport, Mo.	Oct. 23, '64	20,000	9,000	29,000

THE "REYNOLDS' MANUSCRIPT" ON STERLING PRICE AND THE CONFEDERACY.

HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

Thomas C. Reynolds, Governor of Missouri from 1840 to 1844, Lieutenant-Governor under Governor Claiborne F. Jackson's deposed administration, and after Jackson's death the Confederate claimant to the Governorship of Missouri until the close of the Civil War, was among the many prominent Southerners, officials, soldiers, and politicians who, not long after Lee's surrender and the collapse of the Confederacy, betook themselves to Mexico to live.

On the death of Ex-Governor Reynolds all of his papers, documents, etc., were sent to his relatives, the well-known Savage family of Baltimore, Maryland, many of them expressly left to his nephew, Hon. George Savage, of that city.

In later years, on carefully examining this valuable collection, Mr. Savage found in it a most remarkable document, unfortunately left unfinished, in which, almost immediately after the close of the war, Ex-Governor Reynolds had written out, in surprising detail, much of the inner history of the Confederacy, especially as that history related to the State of Missouri, that State's relation to the Confederate Government, and General Sterling Price's connection with that Government, its Army, and its armed invasion of Missouri.

Immediately on recognizing the value of this elaborate narrative, Mr. Savage took steps for its preservation by donating the original, in Ex-Governor Reynold's own handwriting, to the Missouri Historical Society, and it is to-day preserved in the Society's building, 1600 Locust Street, St. Louis, Mo., as one of its most remarkable and valued treasures.

The Manuscript amounts to the equivalent of 128 typewritten pages and covers the entire political and military career of General Sterling Price up to his selection by the Confederate authorities as the commander of the invasion of Missouri. That selection and the reasons therefor narrated in full, it was evidently the intention of the writer to continue his account of the invasion under General Price's command, but the writing ceases in the middle of a sentence and a page, and was never completed. The manuscript is accompanied by certain letters between Ex-Governor Reynolds and General Price, Major Henry Ewing, etc., and by a copy of Reynolds' open letter "to the public," dated at Marshall, Texas, December 17th, 1864, from which quotation is made in the preceding pages.

On learning of the intended publication of this account of the Battle of Westport, the Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society kindly granted permission to consult this most valuable document and to make such quotions, etc., therefrom as might be germane to the subject. No portion of this narrative has heretofore been made public. The portions given below are the opening paragraph and the narrative of the reasons for the final selection of General Price for the leadership of the Missouri

invasion. Every word is as found in Ex-Governor Reynolds' handwriting, save as abbreviated names ("P." for Price, etc.), are given in full.

"GENERAL STERLING PRICE AND THE CONFEDERACY.

"*City of Mexico*, 10th March, 1867.

"I propose in this memoir to state, partly from memory, and partly from letters and memoranda, and with entire impartiality, the connection of General Sterling Price with the military and civil affairs of the Confederate States and the State of Missouri, during the late Civil War, in explanation of the course pursued toward him by their respective authorities; the true reasons for which had, to a great extent, to be kept as 'secrets of State,' during the continuance of the war itself. . . . . .

"In deciding on a commander for the Missouri expedition, two considerations weighed, and necessarily so, which are remarkably illustrative of those defects in the Confederate people and government, which, perhaps more than any other two separate causes, contributed to their failure to secure independence.

"One was this: However disputed was General Price's military capacity, there could be none as to his skill as a politician and especially as a military demagogue. His curiously composite staff, with its ramifications and correspondents both inside and outside of the Army, and a specific organ in Mr. Tucker's newspaper at Mobile, formed a powerful machinery for puffing General Price himself, and unscrupulously and often falsely attacking everybody who stood in his way, or became the object, justly or not, of his or their jealousy and dislike. A

species of terrorism was exercised or attempted over everyone who could influence General Price's fortunes, especially over the Missouri Congressmen and others connected with Missouri or Trans-Mississippi affairs. Generals McCulloch, Van Dorn, Hindman and Holmes, successive commanders of the Arkansas District, General Pemberton, commanding General Price in Missouri, Governor Jackson, General Harris, members from Missouri of the Confederate Congress, and even President Davis had been successively the object against which it had been, with more or less success, employed. The favorite, almost exclusive mode adopted, most sillily, by General Price and his friends for advancing his fortunes was attack and abuse of, and terrorism over, instead of efforts to gain over, conciliate or secure, those who could advance him. The sole exceptions to this rule of conduct were Senator Peyton, General E. K. Smith and myself, and even we were only partially so. Senator Peyton was a decided 'unfriend' of General Price, but too formidable as a popular orator, and favorite of the army, for General Price's friends to attack him hastily. The disposition to bully me was checked in the manner before related; that to assail General Smith began to be exhibited in July, 1863, in a conversation Major John Tyler, volunteer aide of General Price, had with me at Little Rock; I closed the conversation by stating, with some vehemence, that as long as I sustained General Smith I should treat an attack on him, direct or indirect, precisely as I would an attack on myself. It was well understood, from my conversation with Major Snead, heretofore related, that I should meet any such attempt

at terrorism by an effective counter-terrorism directed against the officers themselves engaged in it. I heard nothing more of attacks on General Smith until after the Missouri campaign; then the Price faction endeavored to make up for lost time. But the terrorism above mentioned had produced one effect clearly; however it may have diminished the number of General Price's friends, it had made most men, especially military officers, indisposed to expose themselves to the public abuse and both public and secret attacks sure to be directed against any one supposed, whether correctly or incorrectly, to stand in the way of General Price.

"A constant piece of tactics of General Price's partisans was in his success to claim all the credit for him, in his failures to lay all the blame on somebody else, and in any failure of his superiors to claim that there would have been no failure had he commanded. He ostentatiously claimed a preference over everybody else in commanding an expedition to Missouri. Inevitably therefore, any other commander, if successful, would be treated as having stolen his thunder, and be persecuted therefor, or if unsuccessful, be doubly damned for having failed where General Price would certainly have succeeded. Any commander placed over him in such an expedition would have to suffer the same attacks which had been directed against McCulloch, Van Dorn, and Pemberton. I have the decided impression that this state of things had much to do with General Buckner's disinclination to command such an expedition; but I cannot now remember whether I gathered it from his language or heard it from others.

"The other irregular consideration which had to be duly weighed was the dread by the Richmond government of political dissensions, and the interference there of mere politicians in purely military matters.

"President Davis himself had been, both by nature and education, not at all subject to any such dread, and inclined rather to underestimate than exaggerate the weight due to political considerations in determining on military matters. But the constant trouble the 'Price imbroglio' had given him, the project to depose him in 1862, and the plan of Governor Rector of Arkansas and others, in that year, of making the Trans-Mississippi Department independent of the Confederacy, had, as both General Smith and I believed, produced in him a continuous fear of so fatal an event, and consequently a great desire for calm and harmony among the restless politicians and turbulent elements of that section. Better informed on the ground itself, General Smith and I had no such fear. But we shared the President's desire for a calm and harmony, and felt that sound policy demanded every reasonable effort to prevent the discouraging and demoralizing effect on the Richmond government of any dissensions or popular excitement in the Trans-Mississippi Department.

"Now it so happened, as our ill luck would have it, that harmony and an exultant feeling of confidence in our military leaders had just been produced by the retirement of General Holmes and the repulse of the Federals in Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas, when the controversy of General Taylor and the Louisiana politicians, with General Smith, and that of Governor Murrah of Texas,

backed generally by the politicians of that State, with General Magruder, arose to disturb us. To add to these elements of discord, a controversy with so violent a man as General Price—especially, as I considered (though as the fact was unknown to General Smith, he could not be influenced by it) in view of the Edwin Price connection—was to be avoided if possible. This was especially the case, as Colonel Bryan, of General Smith's staff, had recently returned from Richmond, and stated that the administration there evidently 'afraid of General Price,' *i. e.*, desirous of avoiding all trouble or controversy with him. That administration, unlike Mr. Stanton, President Lincoln's War Secretary, had not seen that no risk is too great to secure *absolute* subordination among the military.

"Under all these difficult circumstances, and from these mixed political and military considerations, I gave it to General Smith as my opinion that the command of the expedition should be given to General Price; that the best and most reliable division and brigade commanders should be furnished him. I told General Smith that while giving him this opinion, I must not be considered as urging it on him; that he should decide solely on his own judgment and responsibility; but that whatever his decision, I should sustain him, both with the President and the public, in adopting whatever the difficult and delicate circumstances might suggest to him."

(Having concluded the subject of the selection of General Price, the Manuscript was evidently intended to proceed with the history of his invasion, but breaks off in the middle of the second sentence after the above quotation, and was never completed.)

INDEX

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(No attempt is made in this Index to indicate every mention of the Individuals and Troops listed therein, as some names—Price, Curtis, Shelby's Division, etc.—occur on nearly every page. Every individual and every body of troops mentioned in the preceding pages is to be found in the Index, however, all troops being enumerated under the various names by which they chanced to be known or alluded to, and each being indexed both as to Organization and the principal mentions made of each in the narrative.)

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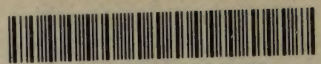
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